



Daily Report—

Sub-Saharan Africa

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7 January 1993

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Somali Leaders Agree To Reconciliation Conference

AB0601191593 Paris AFP in English 1830 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Addis Ababa, Jan 6 (AFP) - Clan leaders from war-torn, starving Somalia agreed here Wednesday to hold a national reconciliation conference in the Somali capital in April, participants in talks said.

"Consensus was reached to have this conference in Mogadishu in April," said one of the members of the delegation of Interim President Ali Mahdi Mohamed after three days of U.N.-sponsored talks here.

Ali Mahdi's rival, General Mohamed Farah Aidid, the main warlord in Mogadishu and much of southern Somalia, had raised a series of objections in the negotiations, which went into an extra, third day in the absence of the chairman, U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

Ali Mahdi had called for a reconciliation conference on March 15, but the United Nations said it would prefer April. Sources close to the talks earlier said U.N. officials wanted time for the conference to be fully prepared.

The 14 Somali factions taking part in the informal discussions still had to reach agreement late Wednesday on the make-up of a standing commission to oversee a ceasefire and decide how to implement it.

The meeting in the Ethiopian capital was the first of its kind among Somali clan leaders since the country plunged into anarchy after the overthrow in January 1991 of dictator Mohamed Siad Barre.

Butrus-Ghali left early Wednesday for Asmara, capital of the breakaway Ethiopian province of Eritrea, where a U.N.-supervised independence referendum is to be held in April.

Cameroon**Security Asks Foreigners To 'Regularize' Papers**

AB0701115293 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The secretary of state for internal security has called on all foreigners residing in Cameroon without required documents to clear up their situation before January 31 1993. A communique issued today in Yaounde, also calls on those holding residence licenses of unlimited terms to regularize their situation before January 31. They can obtain all necessary information at the immigration service of their province of residence.

Rwanda**RPF Issues 'Last Chance' Proposal at Arusha Talks**

EA0601182093 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1115 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Excerpt] The Rwandan peace negotiations continued last night in Arusha. The two sides have yet to reach an agreement on which parties will be offered the ministerial portfolios not yet distributed. Differences also exist on the parliamentary level. It is worth recalling that the facilitator, the Tanzanian Government, announced that if no step is reached by today, 6 January, it would postpone the work to allow more consultations. Balthazar Nduwayezu reports from Arusha:

[Begin Nduwayezu recording] At the session which started last night at 2100, the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] submitted to the government delegation what it called a last chance proposal which, according to the RPF, is based on the fact that the two sides failed to reach agreement on which parties would be included in the broad based transitional government by taking up the two ministerial portfolios.

As the two sides are holding discussions, the RPF proposes that it be given one of the portfolios, while the other be given to one of the parties belonging to the current transitional government. It is worth noting that before arriving at this proposal, the RPF had put forward the Rwanda Socialist Party [PSR] and the Ecologists' Party [PECO] on the condition that the latter subscribes to a code of conduct.

Concerning the National Transitional Assembly, the RPF proposes 11 deputies from each of the following parties: the Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development [MRND], Republican Democratic Movement [MDR], Liberal Party [PL], Social Democratic Party [PSD], and the RPF itself. It suggests four deputies from the Christian Democratic Party [PDC], and one deputy from the other seven political parties which are not represented in the government.

The RPF believes that the Coalition for the Defense of the Republic [CDR] and Party for Democracy in Rwanda [Pader] are sectarian and therefore cannot take part in transitional institutions. That is where there is a problem.

After the facilitator asked the two sides to show more responsibility and realism by searching for a solution which allows for the participation of all political forces, the government suggested the Islamic Democratic Party (PDI) and CDR for the remaining two portfolios. According to the head of the government delegation, Boniface Ngulinzira, the proposal represents a compromise between the suggestion of the MDR, PL, and PSD parties which favors the PDI and the Democratic Party, and that of the MRND which favors the CDR.

Regarding the National Transitional Assembly, the government delegation stressed the fact that no political force should be excluded from the institution because the National Transitional Assembly is the synthesis of all political ideas—without questioning their values—which express themselves in the country through the various political parties. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Zaire**High Council Threatens To Impeach Mobutu**

LD0701102193 Brussels Radio Vlaanderen International in English 1000 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] In Zaire, the High Council of the Republic has threatened to impeach President Mobutu. The High Council, the HCR, is the successor of the National Conference which is supposed to govern Zaire during the transition to a multiparty system. Mobutu was given 72 hours to recall his last measure, that of dissolving the transitional government. The HCR gave the ultimatum on Wednesday [6 January] after Mobutu again refused its request to recall the measure. He considers the HCR as an extension of the opposition. If Mobutu doesn't comply, the Council has threatened to deploy army troops.

Mobutu Calls HCR 'Organ' of Sacred Union

AB0601202593 Paris AFP in French 1745 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Kinshasa, 6 Jan (AFP)—Zairian Head of State Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko yesterday accused the High Council of the Republic (HCR-provisional parliament) of "being only an organ of the Sacred Union of the radical opposition, set up according to an undemocratic procedure."

In a letter to the HCR, President Mobutu said that the political compromise signed between him and the Sovereign National Conference (CNS) agreed to the principle of entrusting the legislative competence to the HCR but that such a transfer of legislative power to an organ

other than those made for in the Constitution "supposes a previous revision of this Constitution."

This letter is the Zairian head of state's answer to the petition filed on 26 December by the HCR asking him to rescind his decision to dissolve the transitional government and asking the prime minister to reshuffle the cabinet.

The Zairian head of state also argued that at this precise moment, "the Zairian people need a government that compromises with him more than with legal documents systematizing relations based on mistrust between institutions." He was thus alluding to the HCR's demand for him to renounce "his" constitution and stick to the transitional legal instrument adopted by the CNS.

Marshal Mobutu also criticized the transitional legal instrument of giving the HCR president a leading role, who is "made supreme arbitrator of any conflicts between the prime minister and the president of the Republic."

Marshal Mobutu stressed in this connection that, for him, only the president of the Republic "draws his constitutional prerogatives from an election by universal suffrage." He added that if he has agreed to share power with a responsible government, he cannot for that matter be reduced to the "status of a monarch who reigns but does not govern."

In a reply letter to the HCR, Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi wa Mulumba stated on his part that he "shared the global analysis of the crisis by this organ and endorsed all its decisions."

He added, however, that he will reshuffle his government only "when President Mobutu has agreed to recognize the legitimacy of the transitional institutions."

At the end of a rowdy debate on these two letters, the HCR asked its bureau to continue the contacts with the two conflictual institutions in order to reach a compromise.

Assembly Speaker Calls for Dialogue

AB0701064693 Kinshasa *Voix du Zaire* in French 1800
GMT 6 Jan 93

[Excerpt] The National Assembly met this morning in Kinshasa. It was an opportunity for its speaker, Mr. Anzuluni Bembonlonyonyi, to review the past October session, which is usually devoted to the budget. But this time, the assembly men's debates centered on the country's current political situation. On this very issue, the speaker of the national recalled the contents of the assembly's statement on the crisis facing the country since 24 April 1990. In his address, he stated that no solution is possible without a frank and sincere dialogue which will enable a mutual understanding of all sides. Thus, the Parliament is proposing the resumption of negotiations in order to save the people from the darkest misery of their history, saying that this is the duty of the principal political actors of the country in particular. These principal political actors are the president of the Republic, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko and Mr. Etienne Tshisekedi wa Mulumba, who is the prime minister and head of the national union government. This pathetic appeal made by Mr. Anzuluni Bembonlonyonyi from the palace of the nation is for these two top personalities. [passage omitted]

Politician Killed in Clash With Police

LD0601145893 Kinshasa *Tele-Zaire* Television Network
in French 1230 GMT 6 Nov 93

[Excerpt] The first news item in this news bulletin is a death notice. Nyamwisi Muvungi (?Enock) has passed away. The news comes from the General Staff Headquarters of our Armed Forces, which notes that the deceased, one of the main forces behind a political party, the Federalist Christian Democracy Party, died in Butembo in north Kivu after an incident between his bodyguards and a group of gendarmes. [passage omitted]

Ethiopia

UN Head Stops in Asmara, Departs for Cairo

EA0601195393 Asmara *Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya* 1520 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Excerpts] Dr. Butrus-Ghali, the secretary general of the United Nations arrived this morning in Asmara and after staying for two hours left for Cairo, Egypt.

Dr. Butrus-Ghali arrived this morning accompanied by six UN officials, including his excellency Mr. James Jonah, assistant secretary general and director of Africa and Middle East regions. [passage omitted]

On his departure, Dr. Butrus-Ghali gave a press statement at Asmara's international airport and said his visit to Eritrea was a good manifestation of the UN's interest and support for the reconstruction of Eritrea, which had been engaged in a long-standing military confrontation.

Mr. James Jonah, the assistant secretary general of the United Nations and director of the Africa and Middle East regions today met and held talks with Dr Amare Tecle, commissioner of the Eritrean referendum commission. He will also continue his meeting with the commissioner and other officials of the Provisional Government of Eritrea.

Kenya

FORD-Kenya Will Take Seats, Demand Elections

EA0601204893 Nairobi *KTN Television in English* 1800 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]-Kenya chairman, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, said today members of his party who won parliamentary seats had agreed to take the seats in Parliament, but they will demand fresh elections within 18 months.

In a press statement, Oginga said his party's first priority would be to tackle the country's deteriorating economy. He called for the formation of a national committee of all parties to examine and review measures to be taken to implement meaningful economic reforms to solve the many problems facing Kenyans.

Opposition Heads Request Meeting With Moi 8 Jan

EA0601204093 Nairobi *KTN Television in English* 1800 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The three main opposition leaders, Mwai Kibaki of DP [Democratic Party], Oginga Odinga of FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]-Kenya, and Kenneth Matiba of the FORD-Asili party have written to Moi requesting that meeting [agreed yesterday]. They suggested this Friday [8 January] as the day of the meeting, and the venue to be at parliament buildings at 1000 a.m.

The statement issued by the three this evening also suggested a seven-point agenda for the meeting. It included public recognition of the existence of the opposition parties, the need for fresh, free and fair elections, the continuing ethnic clashes and the general insecurity in the country, discrimination of relief food distribution to famine stricken victims, the delinking of the civil service and other public institutions from KANU [Kenya African National Union], as well as the release of all political prisoners in the country.

Separately, the three parties have applied to the Nairobi [Provincial Commissioner] for a license to hold a joint public rally at Uhuru Park this Saturday. They said the rally should be held urgently, and appealed to the PC to waive the one day requirement for a public license meeting. The request for the license was signed by Paul Muite and Raila Odinga of FORD-Kenya, Joseph Munyao and Mark Mwithaga of the DP and Haron Ole Lempaka and Japhet Shemalla of FORD-Asili.

Kenda Questions Exclusion

EA0701065593 Nairobi *KTN Television in English* 1600 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The chairman of Kenya National Democratic Alliance, Kenda, Mukuru Ng'Ang'a, today claimed that FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]-Kenya, FORD-Asili and DP [Democratic Party] were seeking an alliance with the ruling party, KANU [Kenya African National Union].

In a statement, Mukuru took exception to the proposed meeting between President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi and the three main opposition leaders—Kenneth Njindo Matiba, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, and Mwai Kibaki. He said such a meeting and the decision made thereafter would not be binding to the other six registered political parties. He questioned why the other opposition parties had not been included in the proposed meeting.

Mukuru accused the three of panicking after losing to President Moi and rushing to meet him before holding a meeting of all the opposition parties in the country. He asserted that Matiba, Odinga, and Kibaki did not understand multiparty politics.

DAILY NATION Gives 'Final' Election Results

AB0501221093

[Editorial Report] EAU advises that the Nairobi DAILY NATION in English on 5 January gave the "final" results of the presidential elections as follows:

Daniel arap Moi (Kenya African National Union, KANU) - 1,962,866 votes;
Kenneth Matiba (Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, FORD, Asili) - 1,404,266;
Mwai Kibaki (Democratic Party, DP) - 1,050,617;
Oginga Odinga (FORD-Kenya) - 944,197;
George Anyona (Kenya Social Congress, KSC) - 14,273;
Chibule wa Tsuma (Kenya National Congress, KNC) - 10,221;

John Harun Mwau (Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya, PICK) - 8,118;
 Mukaru Ng'ang'a (Kenya National Democratic Alliance, Kenda) - 5,766;

The results of the parliamentary elections were given as follows:

KANU - 100 seats;
 FORD-Asili - 31;
 FORD-Kenya - 31;
 DP - 23;
 KSC - 1;
 KNC - 1;
 PICK - 1;
 Kenda - 0.

EAU also advises that the president may nominate a further 12 legislators.

Somalia

U.S. Troops Clash With Gunmen in Mogadishu

AB0701082293 Paris AFP in English 0728 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Mogadishu, Jan 7 (AFP)—U.S. troops clashed with Somali fighters in Mogadishu Thursday [7 January] and unconfirmed reports said about 30 Somalis and several Americans were killed.

Mogadishu residents spoke of at least one or even three Americans dead in the engagement for 30 Somalis killed.

This would make the highest casualty toll in a single incident since Operation Restore Hope began December 9.

No official comment could be obtained from the U.S. military pending a news conference to be given by a U.S. general at 1:30 p.m. (1030 GMT).

There was tension in the city over the Somali casualties and people were being warned by residents not to approach the battle area.

The U.S. military apparently intervened in clan fighting Wednesday evening and early Thursday between Murosuthi, who back warlord Ali Mahdi Mohamed, and the Habagedir who are with his bitter rival Mohamed Farrah Aidid.

Somali sources said the Americans went into battle after the Murosuthi fired on one of their helicopters. But the U.S. casualty or casualties were said to have been taken in fighting on the ground.

The engagement, involving heavy machineguns and mortars, took place at or near a Somali former military academy in the same vicinity as the last heavy fighting in the city, which left 17 dead at the New Year.

The area is located in northwest Mogadishu, about a kilometer (half a mile) west of the U.S. Embassy.

The 30 reported Somali casualties were said to be among both clans involved in the latest fighting.

No U.S. Casualties Reported

AB0701101093 London BBC World Service in English 0900 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] U.S. military forces in Somalia have used helicopters in an attack on Somali gunmen in the northwest of the capital, Mogadishu. An American military spokesman, Colonel Fred Peck, said there were no casualties on the American side, but he did not yet have a figure for Somali casualties. The attack follows an incident yesterday, when U.S. forces were fired upon in the area. The district was occupied by gunmen reported to be connected with one of the two main leaders in the capital, General Mohamed Farah Aidid. Col. Peck said warnings were issued before the attack was carried out.

Machine-Gun Fire Erupts Near U.S. Embassy

AB0601174793 Paris AFP in English 1730 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Mogadishu, Jan 6 (AFP) - Heavy machinegun fire erupted in Mogadishu Wednesday [6 January] about a kilometre (half a mile) west of the U.S. Embassy. The shooting lasted about a minute and a half and came from the approximate direction of the stadium complex where U.S. forces have set up their base. It echoed through the dusk sky and appeared to have been preceded by a crack! of smaller arms fire. The direction from which the gunfire came is close to the Green Line which has divided the shattered Somali capital for months.

A Somali source said the fighting was between the Murosuthi clan, part of which is on the side of erstwhile interim president Ali Mahdi Mohamed, and the Habagedir clan which is on the side of chief warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid.

A U.S. military source said the fire sounded as if it came from a 50-calibre machinegun, but the Somali source said it was a 35 mm gun. One shot flew wide over the U.S. embassy with a sharp, close report which sent marines diving for their machinegun nests and holed journalists up in the building.

Gunfire is common during the night in Mogadishu but such engagements have become rare in daylight hours since the arrival of U.S. troops from December 9.

Envoy Cited on Weapons Collection, Timetable

EA0601170593 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 1045 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The U.S. ambassador to Somalia, Mr. Robert Oakley, said today that the collection of light and heavy weapons in Somalia would begin officially before the beginning of next week.

Ambassador Robert Oakley's action follows complaints from international relief agencies and nongovernmental organizations. The envoy said that increasing concern expressed by these organizations over the safety of their personnel had prompted the move.

The collection of weapons would be carried out by the multinational forces, assisted by U.S. Marine helicopters.

Mahdi Interviewed on Eve of Peace Conference

PM0601160593 Milan *IL GIORNALE* in Italian 4 Jan 93 p10

[Interview with Somali Interim President Ali Mahdi by Massimo Zamorani in Mogadishu; date not given]

[Text] Mogadishu—On the eve of his departure for Addis Ababa, where the Somalia peace conference is taking place, we met with Interim President of the Republic Ali Mahdi. Wearing a safari suit and the smiling face he puts on on his best days, he said: "This conference will have real, concrete importance for Somalia's future; I hope that its outcome is a united decision by all the movements, so that we can finally settle the date and place of the third and decisive national conference."

[Zamorani] A week has passed since your meeting with General Aidid and the promise which ensued to abolish the checkpoints along the green line. In actual fact these roadblocks are still there and the armed men manning them are still demanding payment of a toll.

[Mahdi] As far as we are concerned the city is one: Since we announced the abolition of the green line, there are no more divisions. Of course, after two years of war and disorder, it is difficult to reestablish normality at the bat of an eyelid. Then there are the bandits, who wallow in disorder, but the people only ask for peace.

[Zamorani] Both you and General Aidid spoke of building Somalia together. What does that mean?

[Mahdi] It means that after two long years of war, we have understood that nothing can be achieved through war. The problem is how to bring peace back to our country.

[Zamorani] Both you and General Aidid declared that you have concentrated your heavy armaments in particular areas, but what will happen to this military materiel when the Americans leave?

[Mahdi] We asked the world to send us a force to reestablish peace in Somalia. This does not mean that after a couple of months in our territory, the military contingent should go away without leaving a replacement structure, which can only be a national Somali force capable of replacing it.

[Zamorani] And is this being prepared?

[Mahdi] We have talked about it with the United Nations and with American ambassador Oakley, but for the time being it is only an object of study.

[Zamorani] To date the multinational force only controls a part of Mogadishu and a few other urban centers; is that not rather little?

[Mahdi] We have asked for control to be extended over the whole of Somali territory and we have been promised that this will happen soon.

[Zamorani] Do you really believe that?

[Mahdi] Yes, I do.

[Zamorani] In your view, have the Somali people's hopes not been disappointed by the international intervention?

[Mahdi] After years of suffering, the people obviously expect everything to be done in a short space of time, but a complex force, which has moved halfway across the world to redeploy here, needs time before it achieves any degree of operational efficiency.

[Zamorani] The Americans have been handing out leaflets warning the population that the soldiers have been authorized to open fire even when they are threatened from a distance; what is your view on this?

[Mahdi] I would be sad if a Marine were to kill a Somali, just as I am sorry to note that the Somalis are behaving badly toward the international forces, but I realize that the foreign soldiers have come here to help Somalia and must do their duty to the full. So it is clear that even severe measures must be adopted toward anyone who prevents their task from being carried out.

[Zamorani] What is your opinion on Italian participation in the international coalition?

[Mahdi] Italy is a friendly country, with long historic ties with Somalia. It delayed becoming close to us, it could have been the first, but the fact that it arrived with the multinational force makes us happy.

[Zamorani] Do you intend to return to the old dispute, i.e., about funds badly spent and so forth?

[Mahdi] For us that is a closed book. We intend to write a new book with Italy.

[Zamorani] So you believe in a renewed relationship with Italy?

[Mahdi] I do not only believe in one, I fervently hope for one.

[Zamorani] Returning to the subject of peace-making. You have always said that if you were asked to do so, you would be prepared to step down in order to help peace-making. Are you still of that opinion?

[Mahdi] Of course, if the movements called for it, I would do it immediately, I would hand in my resignation without wasting a minute.

[Zamorani] Do you think reunification with northern Somalia is possible, even though it has refused to send representatives to Addis Ababa?

[Mahdi] Of course, in our view territorial integrity and the unity of Somalia are sacred. We would never accept the division of Somalia.

[Zamorani] One final question: The multinational force has been in Somalia for three weeks now, but it cannot be said that much effort has been made to requisition the immense arsenal in circulation. What is your opinion on that?

[Mahdi] Somali is in urgent need of peace, but peace cannot be achieved while there are weapons everywhere and in anybody's possession.

PAC 'Ready' for Talks on Ending Conflict

MB0701152193 Johannesburg Channel Africa
Television in English 1230 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] In South Africa, one of the main political players to have remained outside of the reform process has had a change of heart. The Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] says it is ready to hold talks with the government of President F. W. de Klerk on ways to end the political conflict in South Africa. PAC Foreign Relations Secretary Gora Ebrahim made the statement in Johannesburg after talks with observers from the European Community and the United Nations. He said the PAC and the government had agreed to keep communication channels open.

Minister Vlok Announces Early Release for Convicts

MB0601192193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1903
GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Cape Town Jan 6 SAPA—About 8,000 convicts are to be released from South Africa's overcrowded prisons from January 18, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok announced on Wednesday [6 January]. In a statement issued in Cape Town, Mr Vlok said there were 26,000 more criminals behind bars than the country's prisons could accommodate. In an effort to reduce the convict population, and after consultation with an advisory release board, "the cabinet decided to introduce a restricted programme of advanced release of selected prisoners," Mr Vlok said.

In terms of a formula, release dates would be advanced by between 15 days and 10 months, and first offenders would be treated differently to those with previous convictions. "Prisoners who are serving sentences of six months and who have already been selected for release, would have their release dates advanced by only 14 days; if no previous convictions are recorded against them, the release date would be advanced by one month."

In the six weeks from January 18, about 4,500 prisoners were scheduled to be freed. Another 3,000 would be released in the subsequent four to 10 months. "The prisoners would be released mainly under supervision and specific conditions," Mr Vlok said.

The government was aware of its responsibility to promote community order and security, and was also planning new prisons "to improve the detention conditions". Mr Vlok said a new prison with accommodation for 2,245 convicts would be opened in Boksburg shortly.

Despite the early release programme, "the overpopulation of prisons will still be a reality with as many as 23,000 prisoners (too many), but the Department of Correctional Services will manage this situation in the interests of the community."

Mr Vlok said that those convicts who did not qualify for early release included those sentenced to life imprisonment, judgement debtors, child molesters whose crimes involved sexual assault and assault with the intention of seriously injuring and those imprisoned for rape and attempted rape. Murderers or would-be-murderers also failed to qualify, as did robbers, drug dealers and those found illegally in possession of a firearm.

Lawyers React to Proposal

MB0701100093 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0700
GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] The Lawyers for Human Rights [LHR] organization has criticized the government's proposal to release nearly 8,000 prisoners before they have served their full sentences.

The 10-month plan was announced late yesterday by Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok.

LHR director Brian Curren says South Africa's biggest problem is the awaiting trial prisoner population. He suggests the government rather devote its energy from [word indistinct] to sorting that out.

The ANC's [African National Congress] Gill Marcus says the organization is not opposed in principle to the early release of common law prisoners. However, Marcus says care must be taken to ensure that the right people are released.

Vlok has given the assurance that no hardcore prisoners will be set free. The early release program is being undertaken to deal with the massive overcrowding in the country's jails.

Party Calls Decision 'Regrettable'

MB0701120293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1132
GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Johannesburg Jan 7 SAPA—The Democratic Party [DP] described the intended release of 7,500 common law prisoners by the Department of Correctional Services as regrettable, saying it was a quick-fix solution which made a mockery of attempts to curb the spiralling crime rate.

"The DP intends to monitor all releases carefully and trusts that the department will ensure that the conditions for release will be strictly enforced and that administrative errors of the past will not recur this time," said a statement by DP spokesman Mr M. Rajab.

ANC Responds to Announcement

MB0701075993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0701
GMT 7 Jan 93

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the African National Congress]

[Text] The announcement by Correctional Services Minister Vlok that a further 7,500 common law prisoners are to be released is not adequate in itself.

Releases to ease overcrowding should be accompanied by additional measures that urgently address the notorious prevailing prison conditions. There should also be major initiatives around job creation and assistance to organisations concerned with the rehabilitation of ex-prisoners.

The release of prisoners necessitates extensive social programmes to assist ex-convicts reintegrate into society. The business community and educational institutions have a major role to play in this regard.

By merely announcing that more prisoners are to be released, Mr Vlok fuels the fears that the already horrific crime rate will increase. That perception could largely be countered if the priority for release were the thousands of children who are imprisoned and those prisoners awaiting trial, a total of approximately 30,000 people.

Police Detail Bekkersdal 'Hostilities' 6-7 Jan

MB0701094193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0908
GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Johannesburg Jan 7 SAPA—One person was killed and nine people arrested between Wednesday night [6 January] and Thursday morning in Bekkersdal near Westonaria on the west Rand for offences ranging from possession of explosives to possession of home-made firearms, Witwatersrand police spokesman Maj Henriette Bester said.

Maj Bester said seven of those arrested claimed to be members of the African National Congress [ANC].

Police said that at 4.15pm on Wednesday security forces manning a roadblock at the entrance to the township stopped a red minibus after receiving information. They searched the vehicle and arrested a man after finding commercial explosives.

At 11.30pm a man ran away from a foot patrol. He was caught and arrested when he was found to be carrying commercial explosives.

At midnight another foot patrol saw a man carrying a firearm. He fled and the patrol gave chase, following him to a house in the township.

A search of the house uncovered a home-made hand-grenade, four petrol bombs, three home-made shotguns, four "zip" guns, a quantity of ammunition and a 9mm pistol. The weapons were confiscated and seven people who claimed to be members of the ANC were arrested.

At 1am on Thursday a group of people entered house No 377 in Bekkersdal searching for an unidentified man.

When the group did not find the man his father, identified as Lucas Molikalae, was shot with an AK-47 rifle and fatally wounded.

Maj Bester said all the incidents happened after a peace meeting on Wednesday night in the township's Paul Nel Hall to find a way to end violence.

The meeting was attended by representatives from the Azanian Peoples Organisation [AZAPO], the Inkatha Freedom Party, ANC and Pan-Africanist Congress, church leaders, the west Rand local dispute resolution committee and the UN observer mission to South Africa. A follow-up meeting will be held on Friday [8 January].

Maj Bester denied claims by the AZAPO that between 35 and 40 of its members were arrested in the township after being beaten by security forces.

AZAPO's claims were "unfounded", she said.

She added that AZAPO members planned to march on the Bekkersdal police station on Thursday afternoon to demand the release of their members, but the nine who had been arrested were in fact being held at Westonaria Police Station.

Those arrested are expected to appear in the Westonaria magistrate's court on Friday.

Police warned on Thursday said that if hostilities in Bekkersdal did not stop it might be declared an unrest area "as a last resort to protect innocent lives".

ANC Fears Violence Over Homeless Hostel Dwellers

MB0701075593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2218
GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Pietermaritzburg Jan 6 SAPA—Concerned political leaders fear an outbreak of large scale violence this weekend when about 500 now-homeless hostel dwellers return to the Natal Midlands township of Bruntville—following the burning down of their hostel.

African National Congress (ANC) Spokesman Blade Nzimande called upon the United Nations, the Commonwealth and other independent observers to watch developments in the area for the next week or two.

He alleged there were already strong rumours of an attack by the weekend.

One Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] source said: "We cannot be held responsible for any action the hostel dwellers might decide to engage upon because they are homeless."

Democratic Party MP [member of parliament] Wessel Nel said the conflict potential "is obvious, and defusing it—which we must—will take all the skill and commitment community leaders and the public can muster".

Mr Nzimande said that police should not use the burning of the hostel as a "pretext" to declare a state of emergency because this would exacerbate violence.

The IFP, meanwhile, blamed both the ANC and the government for the burning down of the hostel.

"The ANC is responsible because it was its supporters who burned down the hostel and the government is responsible because the police, as part of the state machinery, were totally incompetent and ineffective."

Lesotho Says No APLA Bases in Country

MB0601171093 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1500 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The Lesotho Government has told the South African Government, at talks in Ficksburg in the eastern [Orange] Free State, that there are no APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] bases in Lesotho and that such bases would not be tolerated. Denouncing the recent terror attacks on civilians in the border area, Lesotho said it was opposed to the use of its territory as a springboard for such raids. The two governments agreed to cooperate in tracking down terrorists and the South African delegation said strong action would be taken against those who took the law into their own hands.

Team To Probe Police Action in KwaNdebele Violence

MB05011115693 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 2000 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] A 20-member investigating team has been appointed to look into the alleged involvement of the kwaNdebele Police in violence. The role of the police during the 1986 unrest in this self-governing state will also will be investigated.

Mr. Solly Mahlangu, kwaNdebele minister of law and order, says the attorney general of the Transvaal, 10 senior police officers from Pretoria, two advocates, and seven policemen from kwaNdebele will form part of the commission. Mr. Mahlangu says the kwaNdebele Police Force under the command of Brigadier Hertzog Lerm did much harm to the citizens of that state. He says several police had admitted to the Parson's Commission that they were instructed to twist information on certain police dossiers so that cases against them would be difficult to prove in court.

Government To Encourage Cosag To Rejoin Negotiations

MB0601175493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1646 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Pretoria Jan 6 SAPA—The first meeting in this year's crucial negotiation process starts in Pretoria on Friday [8 January] when the government will encourage recalcitrant political groupings to rejoin mainstream negotiations. The two-day meeting with the Concerned South Africans Group [Cosag] at the Presidency will be held at "senior political level," a government spokesman said. It appears that President F W de Klerk will not

attend. The spokesman said the government's priority would be to "discuss the earliest possible resumption of multi-party talks".

According to a programme outlined by Mr de Klerk last year, a multi-party negotiating forum should be established before the end of March this year in order to have a government of national unity in place before the middle of next year.

The government spokesman would not comment on media speculation that the government delegation would try to collar the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] on Friday about the IFP's adherence to commitments made at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]. Observers also speculated that the IFP may be preparing to abandon the Cosag group to concentrate on engaging the government on a one-on-one basis after terminating talks with the government last year. The government and National Party negotiators will meet on Thursday to prepare for the encounter.

Cosag consists of the IFP, the government of Bophuthatswana, the Conservative Party and Afrikaner Volksunie [Afrikaner National Union—AVU] (neither of which participated in Codesa), and Ciskei. It was formed in protest against the bilateral record of understanding reached between the African National Congress and the government on September 26 last year.

AVU spokesman Andries Beyers, MP for Potchefstroom, said on Wednesday the AVU would seek to ensure that the identification of regions and the extension of regional powers be enshrined in an interim constitution before elections are held. Mr Beyers said Cosag was unified by members' subscription to regionalism and their insistence on strong autonomous regional powers.

At a meeting last month, Cosag rejected the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, the notion of a transitional government, a transitional constitution and a constituent assembly. Cosag said it was concerned about the course taken by the negotiation process which "has been restricted to a process of bilateral meetings and understandings".

Talks at the Cosag meeting were guided by a "common rejection" of a unitary South African state and a reaffirmation of the principle of the establishment of states in the various regions with varying degrees of power and autonomy. Agreement was reached that residual powers belonged to the states and only a "limited and listed number of powers" would be reserved by the states for the central government. Cosag believes democracy and pluralism should be built from the ground level up, instead of an overall "top-down solution".

Cosag resolved that Codesa could no longer guide them in the process of transformation and that it was imperative that multi-party negotiations resume "without any exclusion or preclusion to determine a new forum to guide the drafting of the new constitution".

Inkatha To Distance Itself From Cosag
MB0601114993 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 6 Jan 93 p 2

[Report by Billy Paddock: "Tough Session Expected at Concerned Group Talks"]

[Text] The two-day meeting starting on Friday [8 January] between government and the Concerned SA Group [Cosag] to try to resolve the differences delaying multi-party talks was going to be a tough session of negotiating, sources in both groups said yesterday.

At the same time Inkatha, which leads the group, is coming under increasing pressure as strains within group ranks start showing and government, exploiting the strains, demands that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi honours Codesa [Convention for Democratic South Africa] agreements.

It is understood that Inkatha is uneasy in the loose grouping of homeland governments, the CP [Conservative Party] and the Afrikaner Volksunie [Afrikaner People's Union] and the scene is set for Buthelezi to go it alone with government, leaving the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and the CP isolated.

Inkatha is likely to distance itself from its partners' constitutional positions at a meeting tomorrow when the group gathers to prepare for the two-day discussion with government.

There are strong differences between Inkatha, which maintains that it is committed to federalism, and the parties, especially the CP, which pursue a confederal position.

An Inkatha source yesterday also indicated that the party was ready to resume one-on-one bilateral talks with government for the first time since suspending all direct contact in September last year.

He said the time was right for the process to move forward and bilateral talks with government "independently and separately from (the group) are on the cards in the near future".

A government source confirmed this but said no meetings had been scheduled.

Meanwhile, government and the NP [National Party] also meet tomorrow to plan their strategy for the meeting amid strong differences within the NP caucus. NP federal spokesman Piet Coetzer yesterday admitted there was debate within the party over the strategy to be followed with Buthelezi.

He said MPs [members of parliament] in Natal had a different position and considerations from those in other areas who were not as sensitive to the relationship with Inkatha and Buthelezi.

A government source said government was going to demand to know where Inkatha stood and "if it would

honour the Codesa agreements it entered into on interim measures and other constitutional issues".

Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate yesterday admitted there were clear differences between Inkatha and other group members on constitutional principles, but refused to confirm there were strains within the group.

"(It) was set up with a clearly defined and specific role—that of rallying groups behind the demand for a multiparty forum of review and a rejection of attempts by government and the ANC to dictate the process," he said.

He said Inkatha had rejected the Codesa process as dead and it was questionable whether it would honour agreements reached in that forum.

He said the major issues the group planned to do battle with government over were:

- That a multiparty forum of review be set up to broaden the base of those included in the process such as the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], the CP, AZAPO [Azanian People's Organisation] and the kwa-Zulu government;
- That these parties and those that were in Codesa be given the opportunity to review Codesa decisions and the concessions that were made;
- That the top-down method of the negotiating process be changed to allow regions a direct input in the multiparty forum; and
- That it be decided in advance what kind of constitution the country would have before making decisions on constitutional principles.

HSRC Surveys Attitudes Toward Interim Government

MB0601204693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2006 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Pretoria Jan 6 SAPA—A vast majority of white South Africans definitely oppose or are unenthusiastic about the immediate implementation of an interim government—while most blacks are not averse to the idea, a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey has established. Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, general manager of the HSRC's social dynamics group, writes in the latest issue of the HSRC's INFORMATION UPDATE that the results of the survey may "indicate problems ahead for the government in particular". It was necessary for far more information to be directed at ordinary voters concerning the implications of an interim government, he said.

One of the questions respondents had to answer was, "Do you think that the De Klerk government should

immediately resign in favour of an interim government?" Eighty-four percent of whites rejected the notion, while only 27 per cent of blacks rejected the concept.

In another set of statistics produced by the HSRC, all qualified and intermediate responses were omitted. According to these figures, only 51 per cent of black African National Congress [ANC]/SA Communist Party [SACP] supporters gave a definite endorsement to the present government being replaced by an interim government. Only four percent of black ANC/SACP supporters were however, definitely opposed to the idea.

The percentage of white National Party [NP] supporters who definitely liked the idea of an interim government came to one per cent. Seventy-four per cent of white NP supporters were definitely against the immediate installation of an interim government.

Eighty-nine per cent of those aligned to the Azanian Peoples' Organisation were definitely in favour of an interim government, and none objected strenuously to the idea.

Only 44 per cent of Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] supporters were in favour of an interim government, and six were definitely opposed to the move. The survey offered no comment on these surprising figures, or on how the remaining 50 per cent of PAC respondents had answered this question.

It also did not comment on the fact that only 69 per cent of Conservative Party [CP] supporters opposed the idea of interim government, and yet that only four per cent of CP-aligned respondents were in favour of the present government being replaced by such a body—leaving the replies of 27 per cent of CPers unclear.

According to the survey, unemployed blacks and whites were generally also more amenable to the idea of an immediate interim government than moneyed blacks and whites. Prof Schlemmer said a greater effort should be made to point out more effectively "what the economic benefits of an interim government would be".

PAC Briefs Commonwealth, UN Observer Missions

MB0601181593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1747
GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Johannesburg Jan 6 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] on Tuesday [5 January] met Commonwealth and United Nations observer missions in Johannesburg and the two international bodies were told of the PAC's insistence that only a constituent assembly could bring about democracy. A statement by the PAC on Wednesday said it also "fully briefed the missions on the current political position of the PAC regarding the solution to the present conflict".

"We repeated our call for a genuine democratic solution to the conflict through an elected constituent assembly,"

the statement said. The organisation also called for a more representative multi-lateral forum to decisively move the process forward.

"This forum must facilitate, and not decide, the future of the country. This exercise could be carried out during 1993 and we could have a new, non-racial democratic constitution and government by early 1994," the statement said.

Political Parties React To Swedish Aid for ANC

MB0601133693 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0900
GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] South African political parties have criticized Sweden's decision to give financial support openly to the ANC [African National Congress]. The Swedish foreign office said yesterday the ANC would receive most of the (?nearly) 90 million rand earmarked for aid to South Africa. The rest of the money is going to church groups and other independent organizations.

Democratic Party leader, Zach de Beer, says he believes Swedish support for the ANC once it becomes a full-fledged political party will set, what De Beer calls, a very dangerous precedence. De Beer says the move would mean in effect that rich countries can buy political influence in other ones simply by empowering the political party of their choice.

The National Party's Sheila Camerer says it's undesirable for any country to show partisanship toward a political party in another country.

The Conservative Party's Lem Theron labels the Swedish decision as a typical example of selective morality.

RSA Clinton's 'Bargaining Chip'

MB0601164893 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 6
Jan 93 p 13

[Article by Hugh Robertson from Washington: "Major SA Players in U.S. Dog Box"]

[Text] They might not say so on the record, but most of the influential African specialists in the United States generally had a low opinion of the political talents and negotiating skills shown by the major parties in South Africa in 1992.

Surprisingly, since he is known for his bland and cautious statements, probably the most candid remark encapsulating this widely held view came from the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen, when he said at a media briefing last month: "I am not satisfied with the performance of any of the parties in South Africa."

By way of a jocular aside, he added: "How's that for even-handedness?"

In the Senate, in the House of Representatives, in the State Department, the U.S. Treasury and, who knows, in the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency, there appears to be a consensus that the South African Government and the ANC [African National Congress] are engaged in some bizarre competition to see who can outdo the other in ill-advised statements and inept decision-making, with both emerging triumphant.

The year started well for the Government, when President de Klerk announced a white referendum to determine whether or not whites wanted the Government to proceed with negotiations, aimed at full democracy. The ANC's criticism of the referendum was lost in a deluge of praise from the U.S. media and U.S. officials. But to many Africanists in the U.S., De Klerk failed to capitalise on his win. The day after the result was announced, some of them say, should have been the day De Klerk tackled white opponents in the military and security establishment.

His long and unexplained failure to take action against manifest wrongdoing in the military and police, wrongdoing exposed more than two years ago in official inquiries into other CCB [Civil Corporation Bureau] and certain police shootings, have puzzled many Americans who are otherwise sympathetic. Indeed, disciplinary steps strongly recommended by judges who investigated various actions by the police as far back as 1990 still have not been taken.

Thus it was not surprising to Americans that Mr Justice Goldstone should have rebuked the Government in the wake of the Boipatong massacre for having failed to act on his recommendations aimed at preventing such atrocities and the perception—actively promoted by the ANC—that De Klerk had some interest in allowing the military and the police an unfettered hand, gained credence.

The fact that long after all the judicial recommendations, long after the inquiries, and long after the tragedies at Boipatong, Bisho and elsewhere, De Klerk should have ordered an investigation into the role of the military in South Africa's violence and, as a result of police work undertaken partly by the Goldstone Commission, should have dismissed generals and others of high rank for their alleged role in the violence, was reported on extensively—but the praise that might have come De Klerk's way if he had acted far earlier was missing. Probably the biggest complaint against the ANC in 1992 was the rashness of many of its decisions and actions. The shooting at Bisho, for instance, was widely covered but so was the role of radicals who were accused of having provoked the incident. There was also much questioning of the wisdom of the campaign of mass action, which some in Washington saw as a bid by ANC radicals to wreck negotiations and attempt to force a settlement on the other parties.

ANC radicals also were seen to be behind the collapse of Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] 2.

When the deadlock over a so-called white constitutional veto was reached, the ANC's official position was that it would consider withdrawing from further negotiations. In Washington the impetus for that threat was seen to be the radicals who are viewed with great scepticism, the more so because they are suspected of being unenthusiastic about negotiations anyway.

There is a pervasive belief in Washington, enunciated as much by the State Department as by Democrats and Republicans on Capital Hill, that the only forces that would gain from a breakdown in negotiations would be those irrational extremists on the Left and Right who refuse to negotiate and who apparently believe their interests can be served by violence and confusion. That is why Washington was so aghast when Codesa 2 collapsed, the campaign of mass action began, and the Bisho tragedy ensued.

What supported American fears was the convenient way in which the horror of the Boipatong massacre was seized upon as a reason for breaking off talks with the Government. Where previously a simple deadlock in negotiations was cited implausibly as a reason why the ANC might pull out, suddenly that rationale was abandoned and Boipatong was held up, in almost indecent relief, as a more persuasive reason for ending the talks.

Few in Washington were convinced, and the resulting UN Security Council meeting on the massacre, at which the ANC [African National Congress] failed to provide the evidence which it claimed to have of Government collusion in the massacre, produced a strictly neutral resolution which did not apportion blame. But the UN meeting had some unsung benefits for South Africa. Aside from the ANC learning that the UN was no longer the plaything of the liberation movements, the ANC was also left in no doubt that the UN was determined to ensure a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

Insofar as ANC radicals may have spurred the decision to abandon Codesa, the UN meeting must have been a disaster for them. Nothing last year more reinforced the pressure for a resumption of negotiations than the talks behind the scenes which took place quietly during that debate. So forceful were the African countries in their support of resumed talks that the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] itself made discreet overtures in a lobby off the Security Council chamber to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, about the possibility of it joining the negotiating process.

Earlier the PAC, as much as the ANC, was given unambiguous warnings by African countries, again behind closed doors, that the world would not accept a settlement in South Africa that was not reached by negotiation. Revolutionary dreams of armed struggle, mass action and rendering the country ungovernable were rudely dashed in the sleek office towers that cluster around the UN's headquarters in Manhattan.

As the negotiations deadlock went on, alarm in Washington grew. At the height of the crisis, the United States

offered the services of its Secretary of State, James Baker, as a mediator to get talks resumed. Baker's interest in Africa was known to be faint, but with klaxons sounding at the National Security Council and the White House, his prestige and influence were made available to the Government and the ANC, separately. Incredibly, both sides rejected the U.S. overture.

Washington continued to agonise as it saw both the Government and the ANC feed the fires of the far Right and far Left, and questions flew about the city. Why did the ANC set out such radical demands as a precondition to resuming negotiations, demands which the Government probably could not meet? Was this a move by radicals to ensure talks did not resume?

What political leadership would fail to see that the only way to end the violence would be through rapid progress towards a truly democratic society? But there were also some shrewd insights which gave hope to the stalwart. If the ANC was playing so hard to get, it must have believed absolutely that the Government was genuine in wanting negotiations to succeed. After all, it would have been absurdly pointless for the ANC to have drawn up a long list of preconditions if it felt the Government wasn't interested in successful negotiations.

And so the faint flickers of hope were kept alive. But will they survive the inevitable tempest of change that comes when a new administration takes over at the White House? Few are willing to say, since so little is known about the foreign policy that President Bill Clinton will apply anywhere, let alone to South Africa. There are some hints, however.

Most of those who will have the final say on South Africa policy are veterans of the Carter administration, though they have matured and grown wiser in the interim. They are honourable, principled people who remain imbued with the Carterian passion for spreading democracy and human rights.

They also believe as avidly as their predecessors that economic freedom is an indivisible part of true democracy. So, while they might be a little tougher on the Government, they are unlikely to embrace the ANC's radicals with much enthusiasm.

In an article under Carter's name, but written by an adviser, support is given for a continuation of local sanctions until an interim government is in place in South Africa.

An area of major disagreement with the Government—and feasibly with a future government—will be Armscor's [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] programme for the development and sale of advanced weapons of mass destruction. Clinton himself has said that an end to the proliferation of such weapons will be a cornerstone of his foreign policy—and he does not mean only nuclear weapons. As Armscor is aware, the new sanctions imposed last year by the Bush administration related to the production of certain missiles and

missile systems, among other things which South Africa newspapers are not free to report. In trying to assess Clinton's style, his friends in Arkansas say one thing that should never be forgotten is his capacity to strike deals. And here they sound a word to caution for South Africa. The whole of Africa is fading from public and political attention in the U.S. except, perhaps, among black Americans. Watch out for South Africa becoming a bargaining chip as Bill the Dealmaker seeks to lubricate some fairly drastic legislation through Congress, where he will need the support of the Congressional Black Caucus.

And watch out, too, they say, for a White House obsessively focused on domestic issues, to the extent that Africa—already a stepchild of U.S. foreign policy—will become more of a nuisance than an area of major concern.

7 January Review of Current Events, Issues

MB0701134493

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Danger of White Extremists Attacks—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 6 January publishes on page 6 an editorial on the news conference held recently by the White Wolves [WW]: "It says something about the state of this country when the extremist WW can hold a press conference, complete with masked men, to announce that they will attack the Azanian People's Liberation Army [APLA] and Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing—MK] unless the government takes drastic measures against these organisations by January 12." The editorial goes on to say: "With white fears and anger heightened by the APLA attacks in which five Whites have been killed, the Wit Wolwe's threats cannot simply be ignored, since there is a very real danger of retaliation by White extremists. If they do carry out attacks, this will place them in the same bracket as APLA terrorists—cold-blooded killers of innocent people whose actions are an affront to all civilised people."

BUSINESS DAY

Minister Must Extend Tax Breaks on New Projects—"Finance Minister Derek Keys is in danger of falling into a short-term planning trap if he decides not to extend tax breaks on new projects beyond September this year," warns a page 4 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 7 January. "A decision based on short-term budget exigencies is likely to hamper South Africa's longer-term industrial and trade progress....The cost of immediate revenue shortfalls has to be seen against the future advantage of higher tax revenues from new projects that not only add to our exports but also create demand for skilled workers."

SOWETAN

Anxiety of Whites Over School Fees—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 7 January in a page 6 editorial, comments on the "anxiety" of white parents who now, for the first time, have to pay for their children's school fees at Model C schools. SOWETAN points out that "most black parents were burdened with school fees, money for books, money for uniforms, all these years. These parents also happened to belong to the most economically deprived sector....The fact that educational structures are gradually changing for the better is very good news. With these changes will come the scaling down of abominable apartheid structures which were not only costly but totally counter-productive."

*** Whites' 'Surrender Mentality' Criticized**

93AF0278A Pretoria *DIE PATRIOT* in English 4 Dec 92 p 3

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] An indication of twentieth century Western man's decline as a force to be reckoned with is his penchant for taking the soft option, for not confronting a problem head on, for seeking "peace" at all costs.

Nowhere is this more manifest than in South Africa where third-world terrorist revolutionaries are given legitimacy and even respectability by the White establishment media, business community and certain politicians.

No nation in modern history has been so bombarded with propaganda as the guilt-ridden White South African. His decline as a potency able to influence events has become more marked since the ascension to power of Mr. F.W. de Klerk, our present State President.

But the rot had set in earlier. The campaign by treasonous NP [National Party] politicians and an overseas-funded media to destroy the career of Dr. Connie Mulder (and with it, SA's propaganda effort overseas), and the resultant takeover of South Africa's information services by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, set S.A. on a policy path of appeasement, capitulation and self-abasement.

Again and again, S.A.'s Whites have voted for a government which has repeatedly lied to them. Over and over they voted for their demise on the strength of well-funded advertising campaigns, threats about losing their jobs, or because they wanted to play sport overseas.

Word

Appeasement is the conventional morality in today's South Africa. Despite the fact that everyone agrees we are immeasurably worse off since reform than before reform, the White establishment, the media and the government continue to grovel before the ANC [African National Congress] and its fellow travellers as if there were no other option for survival.

In almost all spheres of South African life, concessions granted have led to further demands, and even to the destruction of some domains. In the sporting arena, our administrators have revealed feet of clay. Some sporting "heroes" have said they really don't care if our anthem is played or not at matches. One Johan Claassen declares he has been converted. Apartheid was a mistake, he says. "Tradition is good," he avers, "but we must keep abreast of the times."

On the altar of so-called multiracialism (or even more ridiculously, non-racialism), three hundred years of nation building have been sacrificed. We have been brainwashed by clever liberals who do not practice what they preach.

We have surrendered our hospitals, our schools, our churches. Our towns are under seige by the revolutionary rabble. Our judiciary system is manipulated against us. We cannot protect our old people. Our houses are fortresses.

After the ANC and the Communist Party were unbanned, we discovered that NP politicians and pillars of our society had been meeting them for years behind our backs.

Soil

Some sons of our soil are anxious to lose the "taint" of conservatism and even nationalism. The Mayor of Petersburg in the Northern Transvaal is "consumed with a missionary zeal," according to one report. He is anxious to change his town's image from a NO vote dorp to something more "acceptable." (This despite the catastrophes which followed the YES vote!)

The State President and yuppie cabinet ministers apologise for apartheid. The ruling "National" Party boasts it no longer espouses Christian Nationalism. The party's erstwhile info chief Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe says the term became "tainted." There were some aspects of Christian Nationalism which were not "acceptable," he declared.

Some establishment Afrikaners assure their people that there may be a place in the new South Africa for their language, while the architect of separate development, Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, is sullied and slated by those who have no working alternative. Meanwhile, these same people sanitise terrorists and murderers with amnesty legislation excusing "political" crimes.

Many are ashamed of being White, while "Black" pride aggressively flourishes. "Unemployment" is an excuse for crime, murder and mayhem. "Lack of education" exonerates thugs, necklacers and rapists. A guilty conscience warns the White liberal perspective: they capitulate because they are unable to contemplate anything else.

Conceded

They have conceded their country by default. Nowhere in the past has this happened. Nationals throughout history have made the supreme sacrifice before allowing themselves to be subjugated. In South Africa, many have thrown in the towel. They are victims of creeping takeovers in finance, universities, the media, the churches.

They seem powerless to stop the decline. They swim with the tide. The need to be "acceptable" subsumes their God-given instincts to survive amongst their own kind.

Many Whites talk of the ANC as the next government, as if this were an inevitability. The government beseeches the "one settler, one bullet" scourge to negotiate our future with them. Worst of all, ex-conservatives now confess regret at not having talked to terrorists five years ago, before it was "too late."

Hypocrisy

Hypocrisy rules. While captains of industry proclaim the need for affirmative action, for more schools for the underprivileged, for housing, electricity, Black economic "empowerment," they quietly get their money out. Unprecedented transfers of capital are bleeding South Africa dry. Those who financed referendum campaigns are sending their children overseas, opening up "branches" in other countries, and curbing their local capital spending.

Our government has declared itself and its people a "minority." It has given up the fight. It allows its anthem to be ignored and eschews its flag.

But others will take up the cudgels. They need courage in such formidable circumstances. The men have been separated from the boys. The shake out now occurring had to happen.

* Country's Economic Potential; RSA Cooperation

93AF0265A Johannesburg *ENGINEERING WEEK* in English 20 Nov 92 p 6

[Article by Denis Venter: "Malawi: Trying Times Ahead"]

[Text] Dr Denis Venter of the Africa Institute looks at Malawi in this the seventh article in a series on countries in Africa and engineering opportunities available in these regions to South African companies.

A real wish for an alternative political leadership continues to fuel the drive for political change in Malawi.

While older exiled groups seem to become increasingly out of touch and are likely to be marginalised, an effective and forceful internal opposition to the government is beginning to assert itself.

This opposition has also gained confidence from the decision of Western aid donors to suspend all non-humanitarian aid until the government of President Kamuzu Banda shows an improvement in its human rights record.

Economy

The recent unprecedented wave of domestic outbursts against the Banda regime is unlikely to be permanently subdued, as economic deterioration puts further pressure on already low standards of living and exacerbates basic inequalities, provoking sporadic strike action and unrest incidents with clear political overtones.

A purposeful challenge to the one-party government of Malawi is therefore becoming more likely as international, regional and domestic pressure to democratize the system rises. All indications are of a regime unable to produce a consistent response to the current crisis and unlikely to inspire confidence in what will be both politically and economically difficult months ahead.

The suspension of aid, reduced tax revenues and large public sector pay awards during 1992, compounded by massive food import requirements, all point to a large overall balance-of-payments deficit, an acute foreign exchange shortage, a fuelling of domestic price inflation (already at 11.9% in 1991), and further downward pressure on the value of the Malawi kwacha after two recent devaluations. With limited government ability to pay for commercial food imports, the possibility of famine towards the end of 1992 and throughout 1993 cannot be ruled out.

This discouraging economic trend, along with the general political uncertainty that now clouds the country, is likely to deter future investors, particularly from abroad. This will come at a bad time, an investment had just shown signs of recovery in response to macroeconomic reforms and incentives and a programme of trade liberalisation during the 1980s.

Investment in the manufacturing sector in particular, is likely to be suppressed by the prospects of drought-induced low purchasing power, with reduced disposable incomes shifted towards foodstuffs.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the most important sector of the Malawian economy since it contributes a third of gross domestic product (GDP) and over 9% of export earnings, employs almost half of those in paid employment and supports at least 85% of the population. Just over half of the total land area of Malawi (94 276km²) is considered suitable for cultivation, an indication of the agricultural potential of the country. Lakes and rivers constitute considerable water resources and an irrigation potential that has been utilised in a number of development schemes.

Nearly 80% of cultivated land and of agricultural output, which is mostly at the subsistence level, is in the smallholder sector.

Maize is the principal staple crop, while other food crops include cassava, millet, sorghum, groundnuts, rice and pulses.

Tobacco, mostly grown in the estate sector, is overwhelmingly dominant as an export earner, accounting for 75% of agricultural exports in 1990, followed by tea, sugar, coffee and cotton. This concentration reflects the fact that estate production has grown faster, on average, than smallholder output.

Manufacturing

Liberalisation of foreign exchange and imports in the recent past enabled the industrial sector to move towards full capacity utilisation. But in spite of this, growth in the manufacturing sector fell to 3% in 1991, from 4.3% during the previous year. Nevertheless, manufacturing accounted for 13.6% of GDP in 1990.

The development of the tourist industry into a major foreign currency earner is one of the government's long-term objectives. The opening of the Kamuzu International Airport at Lilongwe now makes Malawi more accessible and tourism has grown at a steady, though essentially unspectacular, rate over the last few years.

However, further growth is hampered by a shortage of hotel beds at resorts along the shores of Lake Malawi, inadequate infrastructural facilities, very limited promotional expenditure, and an excessively restrictive, government-controlled socio-cultural environment.

Mining

The role of the state-owned Mining Investment and Development Corporation (Midcor) is to explore the technical and commercial viability of exploiting known mineral deposits, either by using public funds or, where possible, in joint ventures with internal or external commercial interests.

Deposits of a number of minerals, including bauxite, asbestos, coal, uranium, vermiculite and graphite, have been discovered, but only a few industrial minerals have so far been exploited, notably limestone for the manufacture of cement and high-quality glass sands in the Mchinji district.

There has been small-scale exploitation of Malawi's coal reserves at the Kaziwizi mine near Livingstonia in the northern region. Midcor is also developing a coal mine at Rumphi and exploitation of larger, but lower-grade deposits at Ngana in the north and at Mwabvi and Lengwe in the south (closer to the main centres of demand) is under consideration.

Much will depend, however, on the government's success in establishing coal as an alternative domestic fuel to wood.

Cost considerations have also prevented the exploitation of Malawi's most important mineral discovery so far, the bauxite deposits on the Malanje Plateau, which are believed to amount to nearly 29-million metric tons of ore, containing an average of 43.9% alumina. The feasibility of the project could improve if development of Malawi's hydro-electric capacity results in sufficient cheap power to supply the large quantities required for the smelting of alumina.

A new development is the proving of 985.5-million tons of phosphate reserves at Tundulu which may provide the basis for a local fertilizer industry.

It is estimated that a capital investment of MK2,464-billion would be needed to exploit the deposits which are the largest and the highest quality in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region.

Energy

The Electricity Supply Commission of Malawi (Eskom) operates both hydro-electric and thermal power stations in its grid, although the former supply 85% of the central grid's generating capacity of 169MW.

Although the central grid is currently operating at below capacity, Eskom is planning major investments to meet projected demand in the 1990s, as well as in reinforcing the existing grid.

The Nkula Falls Phase II Project and a mini hydro-electric power project in the northern region is already underway. The next major investment projects planned are Tedzani Falls Phase III (two 25MW machines) and the Kapichira Falls Project on the Lower Shire River (five 25MW machines).

Even with the expansion of electricity output, the majority of Malawi's energy requirements are supplied from fuel-wood which accounts for some 9% of energy needs compared with only 3% from hydro-electric power.

Forestry

There has been growing concern over rapid deforestation caused by demand for fuel-wood, particularly for domestic use and for tobacco-curing. Major flash-floods in early 1991 demonstrated the degree of environmental degradation already caused by deforestation.

The World Bank has been supporting afforestation for fuel-wood and in 1989/90 the new area planted to trees in state forests was 2,872 hectares, a 50% increase over the previous year's plantings.

There are approximately 7.8-million hectares of forest reserves and protected hill slopes and a further 3.3-million hectares of land intended for afforestation is in various stages of acquisition.

Timber and pulpwood plantations have been developed since the early 1970s. An area covering 54,000 hectares

of pine and eucalyptus trees have been planted on the Viphya Plateau in the north to supply a pulp and paper project.

Construction accounted for 6.8% of GDP in 1990 and activity has picked up strongly with growth in this sector of 5.8% during 1991.

The value of private and public building plans passed in the main metropolitan centres of Blantyre and Lilongwe during 1990 amounted to MK226.7-million.

Salient Facts About Malawi

- Population growth is now estimated at 2.9% per annum.
- By early 1992 there were estimated to be about 1.2-million Mozambican refugees in Malawi, equivalent to more than one-eighth of the indigenous population.
- An estimated 88.3% of the population were still resident in rural areas in 1990.
- Malawi is the second largest producer of tobacco in Africa, accounting for 75% of foreign exchange earnings in 1991.
- Fish from Lake Malawi contributes about 70% of animal protein consumption.

- On the 1990-list of main origins of imports into Malawi, South Africa ranks first with 32%.

Transport and Communications

Malawi is a landlocked country dependent on its neighbours for transport routes to the sea.

About 35% of the entire development budget since independence has been spent on transport, and the domestic road and rail networks have been substantially improved.

Malawi's direct road link with Tanzania beyond Kaporo is being improved, while a road between Lirangwe and Zobwe will improve links with Mozambique.

The fear that the 649km Beira and 807km Nacala railway lines would remain closed to Malawi for some time because of the civil war in Mozambique, was behind efforts to develop a third "northern corridor" lake and road route linking up with the Tazara railway line through Tanzania to Dar es Salaam.

This project, which includes Malawian cargo centres and fuel depots in Tanzania, is now almost complete.

Angola**Government-UNITA Clashes Continue****Fighting in Cuito, Other Cities**

MB0601123193 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Cuito is under intense fire. The clashes broke out at approximately 0600 [0500 GMT] today, when Jonas Savimbi's bodyguards tried to force open the official residence of the Ministry of the Interior representative. The police are in control of the situation, though strong resistance by National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] troops is noticeable. UNITA has deployed troops on the city's outskirts, after removing them from assembly points in the Cambandua region, 40 km from Cuito. The city's civil hospital has [words indistinct].

The clashes that broke out in Cunene yesterday have ended already. UNITA has been expelled from the main locations of the province, and its personnel have fled toward the Namibian border. UNITA is resisting only in Namacunde.

In Benguela, the situation remains critical as heavy clashes continue. UNITA is shelling the city center from the outlying areas.

[Begin unidentified correspondent recording] The city of Benguela woke up this morning to the sound of heavy mortar fire and gun shelling by UNITA. The National Police and civil defense units have been forced to renew their efforts to control the situation. Crossfire has subsided. UNITA is shelling different parts of the city from the outlying areas. The number of dead and injured has not yet been disclosed, though it is estimated that it is higher than during the November clashes. There are many dead on the streets, and UNITA is murdering people, particularly unarmed youths, whenever it is forced to withdraw. The residents are beginning to feel the effects of water and power shortages. [end recording]

Reports from Lobito say that clashes are continuing. The city is divided, with government forces controlling the city center and UNITA the highlands. Taking advantage of the terrain, UNITA is shelling the lower regions.

In Lunda Sul Province, UNITA is planning to attack the city of Saurimo. According to residents, UNITA has been receiving materiel and personnel reinforcements from Cafunfo over the past few days. The residents intend to side with the forces of order and to repel UNITA at any cost [words indistinct].

The Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] have set up a forward post in the Sautar area with a view to preventing the free movement of people between Sautar and Saurimo [words indistinct].

For its attack on the city of Saurimo, FALA will be backed by Zairian citizens involved in diamond prospecting, some 20 km from (?that city).

As reported, clashes have ended in Cunene Province. Our correspondent in the city of Ndjiva reports:

[Begin recording] Jonas Savimbi's organization shelled the entire city, killing and injuring an unspecified number of residents. All of UNITA's pilot committees were destroyed during the shelling. The city is calm today, and the National Police are in control of the situation.

The situation in Namacunde District is tense, with heavy clashes between the National Police and FALA elements. Police sources said the situation in the province was caused by UNITA when it decided to attack National Police personnel.

A relative calm prevails in other districts of Cunene Province where the forces of order are in control of the situation. [end recording]

Clashes between the police and UNITA troops have ended in Namibe. The forces of order are in control of the situation and a curfew has been imposed. Namibe Provincial Police Commander Quim Ribeiro takes stock of the situation.

[Begin Ribeiro recording] We are in a position to make a preliminary assessment of the situation. As a result of the clashes between the National Police and UNITA, the police suffered two casualties and UNITA, six.

We have introduced measures to make the residents feel calm. Accordingly, a curfew will be imposed as of 1900 today. The curfew is designed to prevent other people from [words indistinct] the police. [end recording]

Nevertheless, tension remains in Namibe Province, and it is known that some fleeing UNITA elements could cause problems on the Namibe-Lubango road. The police are ready to curb the situation.

In Huila Province today, the local government appointed a commission to investigate the violation of UN Angola Verification Mission-2 installations during the recent clashes in the city of Lubango. The commission of inquiry has been given eight days to prepare a report. The commission includes representatives of the National Police and of the Southern Military Region of the Angolan Armed Forces.

Government in Control in Benguela

MB0601210093 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The government is already in full control of the cities of Lobito and Benguela. Benguela Governor Paulo Jorge has just spoken to Radio Angola:

[Begin recording] [Jorge] The situation can be described as follows: Our forces have been in control of the city of

Lobito since late this morning. Our forces have taken all the principal premises of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola's [UNITA]. Our forces have even advanced toward the city's outlying wards. Thus, our forces are in full control in Lobito. Our forces also achieved full control over the city of Benguela this afternoon, following intense clashes in the cities of Benguela and Lobito. Here, too, our forces took over UNITA's main premises. Our forces also took so-called pilot committees.

[Reporter] Mr. Governor, when you say the situation is completely under control, do you mean shots are not heard anymore?

[Jorge] It means there is no movement whatever of UNITA armed groups in the city, so we cannot hear as much shooting as before. From time to time, we hear a shot; there are still some groups who are not behaving in an orderly manner.

[Reporter] Mr. Governor, what is the situation in Catumbela?

[Jorge] Well, there has been nothing special in Catumbela. There were some clashes, but I have received no reports that dealt specifically with the situation in Catumbela.

[Reporter] Mr. Governor, [words indistinct] Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] military equipment, which came from UNITA, also participated in the clashes.

[Jorge] Yes, it is known that an Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] contingent used to be there. It had been insubordinate to the FAA. It had even attacked and taken the Pioneer Camp. It was that force that hindered our operation the most. Nevertheless, the Pioneer Camp has been fully retaken, and large quantities of war materiel and rations have been captured.

[Reporter] During the clashes, was there any attempt to get in touch with UNITA with the aim of starting talks to resolve the problem?

[Jorge] No, UNITA tried to get in touch with us through the UN Angola Verification Mission-2 yesterday morning. They were asking for a cease-fire. They said they were going to order a cease-fire and asked us to do the same. We sent one of the members in the commission that works with UNITA. On the basis of that, we issued orders for combat to be suspended. We had already stopped fighting, but toward the end of the morning that FALA contingent—which should have been part of the FAA troops—moved in the direction of the city to resume its attack. In view of that, the Angolan Police and the civilian defense forces—who were duly [words indistinct]—had to respond and the fighting was continuing today. With regard to the districts....

[Reporter, interrupting] What is the status of the senior UNITA officials at this stage?

[Jorge] As far as I know, some of the senior officials fled to (?Lucapa) early this morning. I believe they fled in the direction of Huambo. Some officers—whom I do not know—have been detained.

[Reporter] What is the situation in the other districts of the province?

[Jorge] The situation remains [word indistinct] as it had been up to now. They remain under UNITA occupation. Some districts are virtually empty, though. People have gradually fled those districts and joined other displaced people in the cities of Benguela and Lobito. Within one month, the number of those people shot up from 2,260 to some 10,000 people.

[Reporter] Mr. Governor, can you make an assessment yet?

[Jorge] Not yet. As I told you, the fighting stopped in mid-afternoon, so we have not yet had time to make such an assessment. We must gather all forces [words indistinct] in the wards so we can have an idea. Nonetheless, I have already heard that there were heavy losses.

[Reporter] So the government is in full control of the cities of Benguela and Lobito?

[Jorge] Exactly. Nothing special is happening in Baia Farta, either.

[Reporter] Mr. Governor, and the city [words indistinct].

[Jorge] As you will understand, I have not yet had the time to learn about that. There was fighting until mid-afternoon today. [end recording]

Calm Reported in Namibe

MB0601213093 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Clashes in Namibe have led to the expulsion of National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] forces. Namibe Provincial Governor Dr. Joaquim da Silva Matias speaks of the situation at the moment:

[Begin Matias recording] I consider the situation in Namibe as part of our country's general situation. Now, if UNITA shows bad faith in Uige, Bie, and Benguela, we cannot go on clapping our hands or slapping their backs just to show how good-natured we are. There are people here who also feel deep in their hearts the problems UNITA has been causing in other parts of the country. [end recording]

Dr. Joaquim da Silva Matias says the defense of democracy presupposes the existence of unarmed parties:

[Begin Matias recording] We insisted on settling problems peacefully, but the time came when things worsened beyond our capabilities. [end recording]

Calm has returned to Namibe despite sporadic shots in certain areas of the city and its outskirts. The Angolan Police are in control of the situation in the five districts of the province: Namibe, Tombua, Virei, Bibala, and Camacuio. Government and private offices were closed for most of today. There was also very little traffic in the city's streets. The local authorities continue to call on workers to return to their duties.

Meanwhile, the curfew that was imposed on 7 November, which was in force from midnight [2300 GMT], has been changed and will be in force between 1900 and 0500. There is no fresh information about the situation in the city of Cuito-Bie at this stage.

Contrary to what had been said of Huambo Province, the situation is totally calm. Today, there were verbal clashes between the government and UNITA, but Acting Deputy Governor Arao Chiquetolo has said all that was overcome:

[Begin Chiquetolo recording] It was only a verbal clash. It was not a clash of weapons and the problem has now been overcome. We can say at this stage that the stand UNITA is adopting in Huambo [words indistinct] its previous positions. The government and UNITA commissions are at work. Everything is calm. The government is in control of the situation in the city and in neighboring Caala District. [end recording]

Nonetheless, UNITA continues to occupy all the districts of Huambo Province, with the exception of the capital of the province (?and) Caala District.

[Begin Chiquetolo recording] Regarding the districts that are occupied by UNITA, I must say here that it is part of the provincial government's plan to hold a meeting with UNITA so we can analyze the situation in the district. Given the situation that is currently experienced in Lubango and in other parts of the country—and which you, gentlemen of the media, are familiar with—we cannot yet say anything about the situation in the districts. [end recording]

Reports just in say that clashes are continuing in the city of Benguela between Angolan Police and UNITA soldiers.

Government Takes Caxito, Ndalanando

MB0601203593 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network in English 1910 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Angolan officials say government troops have seized two more provincial capitals of Caxito and Ndalanando back from the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] opposition. Reports say the fighting is reported to have spread to areas along the Namibian border.

UNITA Reports Clashes in Bie, Cunene

MB0601141593 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Jose Eduardo dos Santos is himself clear proof that his government is shirking the path of dialogue that could bring an end to the disturbing situation that has caused the deaths of thousands of Angolans and the destruction of valuable infrastructure throughout the country. This fact became even more apparent when the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] president refused to attend a summit meeting with Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi in Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital, or Geneva, the Swiss capital [as heard]. In terms of the UN proposal, such a meeting would be held under the auspices of UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali. Diplomatic sources say the international community in general, and the United Nations in particular, has been critical of the Futungo de Belas Palace chieftain's behavior, which greatly encourages government forces to step up their acts of violence, thereby contravening the recommendation issued by President-elect Bill Clinton's government concerning the resumption of talks and normalization of political and social life in Angola by 8 January.

The war has taken on alarming proportions in this country and has now spread to central Bie Province. Reliable sources report the MPLA-PT forces launched a military offensive against UNITA in Bie Province as of 0300 [0200 GMT]. Bloody fighting is currently taking place throughout the city, and the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola soldiers are once again defending the civilian population.

The MPLA-PT is indeed committed to war. At 1730 yesterday, the MPLA-PT's weapons trained on Cunene Province. The city of Ondjiva is ablaze. Intense fighting began at 1730 yesterday, after a Boeing aircraft landed at Ondjiva with more forces and military equipment for the Riot Police. The MPLA-PT used all (?kinds of) self-propelled artillery, including [words indistinct] tanks against the local UNITA branch and the homes of UNITA officials. The fighting continued in the city throughout the night. Health posts and pilot committees have already been destroyed. All patients admitted to those health posts were killed.

Namacunda also came under fire at 0500. The situation remains the same at this time. Explosions continue to rock the district.

The city of Xangongo is under siege. (?Annihilation) forces are backed by [words indistinct] artillery and armored cars. (?They also attacked) the local UNITA branch in attempt to behead its senior structure and kill off UNITA officials and sympathizers.

UNITA: General Nunda 'Fled' to Luanda

MB0601102993 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Commuque issued by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola information secretariat in Huambo on 6 January]

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] information secretariat hereby informs the Angolan and international communities that General Geraldo Sachipengo Nunda fled aboard a helicopter to Luanda on 5 January. He was accompanied by (Suquissa), first superintendent of the Riot Police for Huambo Province.

It should be noted that the government has lately increased its efforts to bribe senior officers away from UNITA, to deplete its military leadership. This is an attempt to hide the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola's [MPLA] real political and ethnic intolerance.

[Issued] Huambo, 6 January 1993

[Signed] UNITA Information Secretary Dr. Jorge Alicerces Valentim

UNITA Communique on Fighting

MB0601131593 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Press release issued by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola information secretariat in Huambo on 6 January]

[Text] The People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA], or government forces, are in full offensive against all areas under the political influence of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola's [UNITA]. They have indiscriminately attacked men, women, and children. The Lubango massacre was followed by the Namibe massacre. The UN Angola Verification Mission-2 [UNAVEM-2] was a witness to the fact that UNITA had conducted the demilitarization and demobilization of its forces in the area. It had also handed over its weapons to UNAVEM-2 and the government.

When [words indistinct] violent attacks occurred simultaneously in various areas, notably Benguela, Lobito, and Cuito-Bie, where fighting has been fierce. The government can no longer claim it is on a military graduation parade. UNITA still believes in a peaceful settlement to the conflict. UNITA believes the two warring factions must meet around a negotiating table. The government wants war. UNITA wants dialogue and peace. UNITA hereby calls on the international community at large—and the United States, England, and

France in particular—to [words indistinct] UN secretary general to put an end to the fighting that spread to the whole nation.

[Issued] Huambo, 6 January 1993

[Signed] UNITA Information Secretary Dr. Jorge Alicerces Valentim

Prime Minister Discusses Fighting

MB0701102993 London BBC World Service in Portuguese 2030 GMT 6 Jan 93

[From the "London Last Minute" program]

[Text] Despite the current situation, Angolan Prime Minister Marcelino Moco still does not want to speak of civil war. He says peace is still possible once the dust settles. He accused Jonas Malheiro Savimbi of being solely responsible for the current situation in the country. We asked the Angolan prime minister what were the regions of the country to where the civil war had not spread:

[Begin recording] [Moco] Well, we do not have reports of clashes in Huambo, Moxico, Lunda Norte and Lunda Sul, Cuando Cubango, and Cabinda, or other coastal provinces.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, there are reports of an imminent attack on Huambo.

[Moco] No, we do not envisage that. Obviously, you will understand that clashes in other parts of the country are likely to increase tension in every province where the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] and forces of order, quote, coexist, unquote, and where the residents have been harassed by UNITA.

[Correspondent] What percentage of the Angolan territory is in UNITA hands?

[Moco] UNITA has occupied more than 50 percent of Angola's districts. In the provinces, the government control is practically restricted to provinces. [sentence as heard] There are the cases of Uige, Ndalatando, and Bengo whose provincial capitals have been occupied by UNITA.

[Correspondent] Do you think that a negotiated solution to the Angolan crisis has been ruled out?

[Moco] No. We think that the ongoing clashes are the result of impatience on the part of the residents and the forces of order. When emotions subside, perhaps we....[changes thought] Actually, we believe we must follow a peace path.

[Correspondent] Yesterday, you spoke on the telephone with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali. What did you discuss?

[Moco] No, I did not speak to Mr. Butrus-Ghali, though there have been contacts with him through Ms. Margaret

Anstee, who represents the secretary general in Angola. What we know is that he regrets the situation in Angola, but the guilty party has a name: UNITA. We regret that but feel that the United Nations is partly responsible for this situation. After recognizing the election results, the United Nations has not been capable of clearly stating that UNITA was disregarding the election results.

[Correspondent] The UN Angola Verification Mission [UNAVEM] mandate is about to expire. Are its days in Angola numbered?

[Moco] No, we do not want that. We want to redefine the UNAVEM role. [end recording]

General Carneiro Says Government Ready To Talk

MB0601193293 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The government remains willing to talk with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] so a negotiated settlement can be reached. General Higino Carneiro has said that the events that have been taking place are localized skirmishes that can be settled regionally. Gen. Carneiro added that the Angolan Government was in touch with UNITA today.

[Begin recording] [Carneiro] Those contacts continue to take place. The [word indistinct] is to hold talks. We regard as localized skirmishes the events we are witnessing in Angolan territory at this time. Had UNITA not given up on dialogue at the local level, those problems would not have been experienced today. It was UNITA that forbade its teams from dealing with the differences that were surfacing at the local level throughout the country.

[Reporter] Was there any contact with the UNITA leadership today?

[Carneiro] Yes, there was. I spoke with some senior UNITA officials and told them what our position was. Our viewpoint has not changed.

[Reporter] What viewpoint is that?

[Carneiro] We are open to dialogue.

[Reporter] What is UNITA's stand on that matter?

[Carneiro] UNITA says it wants to talk. In practical terms, though, we see nothing happening. It continues to cause problems because it knows we have not yet solved the Uige and Negage issues, and that we do not want to include those issues in the wider framework. As I said at the start, those are localized problems that must be dealt with at the local level.

[Reporter] What is UNITA's position regarding generalized conflict in Angola?

[Carneiro] (?They did not disclose) their opinion. They said they would comment tomorrow. [end recording]

Official: Government Not To Tolerate Attacks

MB0601161293 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 6 Jan 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] It is beginning to look as though the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government in Angola has run out of patience and is going on the offensive against its UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rivals. Last night, the prime minister, Marcelino Moco, said that in effect a new undeclared civil war is already going on, and United Nations Representative Margaret Anstee is talking of things spiraling out of control. Last month, there was fighting around Caxito and Ndalaatando in the north. In the past week there have been battles at Lubango, Benguela, and Namibe in the south, and now the conflict has erupted around Cuito, in the east of the country and, on the face of it, the MPLA is on the attack. On the line to Luanda, Akwe Amosu asked the vice minister of foreign affairs, Jorge Chicotti, if the MPLA was mounting an offensive against UNITA.

[Begin recording] [Chicotti] The government will no longer tolerate any kind of aggression or attacks coming from UNITA without response. What the government has been doing so far is to defend all the positions which are under its control. We have not led any offensive movements at all, but there is a question of sovereignty in Angola. There is a government that is running the country, and we will not accept that people, civilians, and the police are aggressed without having a response. What we think is that UNITA is a legitimate political party in Angola, but has to change its methods of aspiring to power by force.

[Amosu] What does that really mean in practice? Does it mean effectively offensive action?

[Chicotti] No, the government is not going to take offensive action. What we have here is that there are constant provocations coming from UNITA, and generally against the established order, like attacking police, government institutions, and I think that at this stage we have to defend by giving the adequate response. So, in terms of movement of forces, we are not taking the police forces out of the areas that we control.

[Amosu] When we say the areas that you control, how much of Angola is the government now controlling?

[Chicotti] Well, what I think is that the government controls nearly the whole country, not only in terms of legitimacy, but also in terms of sovereignty. Now, there are areas where UNITA controls municipalities, and there are quite a number of them, and in some cases, as you may know, she has occupied provincial capitals.

[Amosu] But you would reject, then, suggestions that UNITA controls 40, 50, 60 percent of the territory?

[Chicotti] Well, that is what UNITA is saying. UNITA is saying that it is controlling 70 percent of the Angolan territory. Well, I don't know how this type of calculation is made, but what is true is that UNITA has gone against the government authority in quite a number of areas. Now, controlling them, I doubt it very much.

[Amosu] So, with Moco's statements, does this effectively mean that the MPLA has lost any faith in a negotiated settlement?

[Chicotti] Well, the thing is that so far it is always the government that has been open to negotiations. We have to look at even the last Namibe Accords, which were violated by the attacks of UNITA in Uige. Now, at this stage, we expect very little from any meeting between His Excellency President Eduardo dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi, and we also feel that from the statements that they give outside, and from their actions inside Angola, we don't think that UNITA is interested in peace. [end recording]

General Jota on Possible Army Intervention

MB0601144993 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Brigadier Jose Manuel Jota, spokesman for the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] chief of the General Staff, has reported that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] forces have been attacking Angolan Police in various areas of central and southern Angola. Brig. Jota added the FAA troops have not yet joined the action because the situation does not yet require it.

[Begin recording] [Jota] It is much too obvious that the country is at war. Some say no, but the country is at war. The situation is extremely worrisome at this stage. In the wake of incidents in Benguela and Namibe Provinces, as well as in the city of Lubango, the situation became even more complicated. The conflict has spread to every corner of the country. We can report at this time that UNITA forces are moving in provinces such as Lunda Norte, Moxico, and Cuando Cubango. It is to be expected that clashes will occur in those areas soon. Fighting is currently taking place in the city of Bie, in Bie Province. There have been clashes between the UNITA troops and the Angolan Police. Obviously, the FAA troops will have to intervene if the situation so demands.

[Reporter] Brig. Jota: Your words suggest that FAA has not intervened yet.

[Jota] At this time, clashes are between UNITA and the Angolan Police. Should the situation deteriorate, though, the FAA troops will have to act.

[Reporter] What are the Chief of the General Staff's Office reports at this time concerning the situation in Benguela, Namibe, and Lobito?

[Jota] The situation is relatively calm in those areas at this stage, notwithstanding the fact that sporadic fire can still be heard in the cities of Benguela and Lobito.

[Reporter] (?Could you comment on the situation) in Cuito?

[Jota] It is extremely difficult to tell who has the upper hand there. What I would like to note is that the Angolan Police are in control. Clashes are taking place at this time, and it is very difficult to assess what the situation is on the ground.

[Reporter] You have said FAA will intervene should the situation worsen. Have those instructions been relayed to the various FAA regional commands? Was that a decision made at the meeting the chief of the General Staff (?held with you) today?

[Jota] No, the meeting with the chief of the General Staff was yesterday and it was held for the purpose of dealing with other issues. Nonetheless, we would like to say that, should the FAA be attacked [words indistinct].

[Reporter] (?You have reported) military instability in the center, south, and east. How is the north at this stage?

[Jota] It is calmer. Nonetheless, we continue to note UNITA troop movements throughout the country. It is possible that things will also worsen in the north.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct].

[Jota] Well, there are UNITA troop movements throughout the country. It is natural that it should be carrying out those movements to strengthen its positions. At the moment, it is taking troops from Jamba, Licula, and other parts of Cuando Cubango Province and moving them to central and northern areas.

[Reporter] Mr. Brigadier: You have said the country is at war. On the other hand, you say FAA troops have not intervened yet. Does that not reflect a certain slowness on the FAA's part?

[Jota] Well, FAA troops will only intervene in those instances where it is deemed they must intervene. We think the Angolan Police are still in control of the situation, which explains why the FAA have not yet used maximum force. FAA troops will only act when they have to respond to UNITA provocation. [end recording]

UNITA Appeals to UN To End War

MB0601133793 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] has asked the UN Security Council to seek an end to the war currently devastating Angola by all possible means. That request was presented yesterday by Marcos Samondo, New York-based UNITA ambassador to the United Nations, after he had been informed about the serious situation in Angola.

Dr. Samondo proposed that the UN Security Council become more involved in the Angolan issue so as to allow the Jonas Savimbi-Eduardo dos Santos meeting to be held as soon as possible. The UN Security Council has expressed support for such a meeting already.

UNITA representatives in New York say the Angolan people must not continue suffering for a lengthy period simply because of a minority's desires.

*** Profile, Career of New Prime Minister**

*93AF0200B Lisbon SABADO in Portuguese 3 Dec 92
pp 94-98*

[Interview with Prime Minister Marcolino Moco by Artur Queiroz; place and date not given]

[Text] Marcolino Moco is an MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] official of the new generation and is part of the nucleus leading the reform process in Angola. This fact made him prime minister. But the fact that he is Umbundu (originally from Huambo) also had an influence on Jose Eduardo dos Santos' decision to choose him rather than others who were more famous and had more domestic and international support.

Marcolino Moco is prime minister of the MPLA absolute majority government. He left the position of secretary general of his party to form a ministerial cabinet that has as its main challenge the consolidation of peace in Angola and the institutionalization of the democratic regime. It can be said that Moco jumped from backstage into the spotlight, at a time when the entire world has its eyes on Angola. How does this young jurist feel in the face of these challenges? He responded with the simplicity that is characteristic of him.

[Moco] I confess that I was not expecting to be invited by the president of the republic to form a government. That was not on my political horizon, either immediately or in the long term. I did not form part of the group of candidates for that position...

[Queiroz] Who were those candidates?

[Moco] I prefer to speak of my candidate, that is, the one I would have liked to see nominated as prime minister. Everyone knows that I would personally like to see my comrade Lopo do Nascimento in that place. But I was the one who was invited, and I ended up accepting. I want, however, to state that I accepted only after a great deal of resistance. The position of secretary general of a party that is constantly undergoing change fascinated me more...

[Queiroz] But you were nominated, you accepted, and you are now working on your cabinet. What will be your government's first priority?

[Moco] First priority will be the problem of peace and the institutionalization of the democratic regime. That is the greatest challenge for my government which, as you will soon see, is a true government of national unity.

[Queiroz] On what facts do you base this statement?

[Moco] I can disclose that I invited all the parties with parliamentary seats to join my government. Some individuals from extra-parliamentary parties and independent personalities were also invited. I sincerely hope that they will all accept my invitations...

[Queiroz] Did you include UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] among those invited?

[Moco] Of course. I don't hide the fact that I would like to see UNITA officials in the social affairs area, specifically in the Ministries of Employment and Labor. I would also like to have UNITA members in the area of health. They have their own ideas in that regard, and have set up their own program in some regions of the country. It would be important to take advantage of those experiences. But that depends on the evolution of the situation of UNITA itself. If it depended only on us, I guarantee that some ministries, particularly those to which I referred, would be the responsibility of UNITA. We will see how they react to my invitation.

[Queiroz] Do you have some ideas already on how to consolidate the democratic regime?

[Moco] I have many, but I cannot provide details at this time. I can say that my government is going to support as far as possible the activities of the political parties and in a general form civilian society. We are going to perfect the current institutions...

[Queiroz] Which institutions?

[Moco] First of all we will pledge to perfect the judicial system, in order to make it influential and respected. We have to work hard and well in that regard.

[Queiroz] And the independence of the courts?

[Moco] It will be ensured, specifically by creating good working conditions for the justices. Only in that way can the courts be prestigious, and will people believe in justice.

[Queiroz] They don't believe now?

[Moco] Now they are starting to believe. But under the reign of the single-party system, the courts operated as a function of the regime. We do not want the courts to provide confidence to the citizens and moralize society. It will be my own personal pledge because I am a jurist and I am very sensitive to this problem. But this question is also important to the MPLA electoral program. For my part, I guarantee that it will be completely fulfilled. As for the rest, we have been accelerating economic and social reforms in Angola since 1990.

[Queiroz] Let's return to the courts. Will there be something new in this area, or will the judicial structure remain as it is?

[Moco] I can now announce that my government will place at the top of the chain of courts a Constitutional

Court, which will ensure the end of many arbitrary acts that have been practiced throughout the years. In the area of guarantees of justice I will create the position of Procurer, with a view to helping guide people through the system. In addition, the victims of arbitrary acts on the part of the public administration will find this justice procurer to be a protector. It is known that broad ranges of the Angolan population are living in fear of war and of the institutions. The Constitutional Court and the Procurer of Justice will put an end to that fear. Of course I am speaking of an area that does not fall under the government's purview in the strictest sense. My intention is to reveal that I am going to give every support to the courts and the justices.

[Queiroz] You stated that your government's first priority will be to consolidate the peace. How are you going to achieve that objective, knowing that UNITA, the party that leads the opposition with more than 30 percent of the vote, is going to continue to wage war?

[Moco] We will work in the international arena. We have already done all that we had to do. Now we are going to appeal to the community of nations for them to oblige UNITA to accept the game of democracy. The countries involved in the peace process, the UN, and other international institutions have to understand that we cannot permit more destruction on UNITA's part. We cannot permit more war, we cannot allow a political party to impede the free circulation of people and goods in vast areas of the country. If the international community declares itself impotent to bring UNITA to democracy, then we will have to end their insubordination...

[Queiroz] And do you believe that your government has a mandate to act, at a time when you still need to hold the second round of the presidential elections, the process of forming the Angolan Armed Forces has been blocked since the departure of the UNITA generals, and the National Assembly has had the 70 deputies of that party amputated?

[Moco] We will legalize the government's activities, empowering the National Assembly, which was elected in free and fair elections. If the UNITA deputies want to occupy their places, great. If they prefer to wage war, they should assume their responsibilities in front of the world and the Angolan people, particularly those who elected them. For me the situation is very clear: bipolarization is finished. Angola's problems can no longer be resolved between only the MPLA and UNITA. That is a threat to the democratic regime itself. There are more parties and all of them have something to say, regardless of the number of deputies elected or even whether or not they succeeded in electing deputies. From now on, the serious problems that we must resolve can be resolved only by the nation. UNITA must say whether or not it is interested in collaborating, assuming its role as opposition leader. With respect to the rest, the institutions are there, democratically elected. One must respect the will of the voters.

[Queiroz] But Jonas Savimbi says, for example, that the institution of the president of the republic is lacking. He says that for the time being there are only candidates, there is not yet a president...

[Moco] With all due respect to the opinions of the UNITA leader, I say that that is a great mistake, or at the very least, it is a problem for judicial review. In reality, Article 5 of our constitution says that the president of the republic is in power until the president-elect assumes the mandate. That is so clear that I am puzzled when I see the question raised as to legally whether or not there is a president of the republic...

[Queiroz] And who grants office to the members of the elected National Assembly?

[Moco] The Assembly itself does. It creates an ad hoc committee that grants office to the deputies. Then they elect the presidents.

[Queiroz] Will your government submit itself to approval by the Assembly?

[Moco] Of course. We are going to follow the Portuguese practice. The party with the most votes forms a government and presents its program to the Assembly of the Republic. The first step was taken by the president of the republic, who invited the party with the most votes to form a government. It is all quite simple. I don't think there are any points of controversy in any of these steps, except for those who believe that the country should remain forever waiting for UNITA to accept the rules of democracy. In addition, I would like to remind you that I am going to head a ministerial cabinet covering a broad political spectrum.

[Queiroz] Under current circumstances, are the members of other parties in the government merely figureheads?

[Moco] Not at all. Some of them were invited for sensitive ministries requiring great technical competence. The broad political spectrum of which I speak means, above all, that the MPLA leaders are realistic and know that only a wide political base, particularly involving UNITA, can ensure the stability that we desire so much.

[Queiroz] Does the MPLA want to offer power to its adversaries for patriotic reasons, or because it knows that they are weakened and in this case their power would always be illusory?

[Moco] We are going to share power sincerely. Civil society is still in the very beginning stages. Our social fabric is very fragile. We are going to take into account party representation, particularly regional participation. We know that everyone is necessary. There are individuals with great regional influence whom we would never be able to ignore. We are sincere. But I am also sincere when I tell you this: whoever wants to participate in my government has to be aware that the invitation was extended with the view that it is up to the entire nation

to resolve the problems, and never in terms of us offering the election results. We do not offer the election results to anyone!

[Queiroz] In which areas of the government will members of other parties and independents participate?

[Moco] That is not completely defined. But I have already said that I would like to see UNITA in the area of social affairs. I am willing to open to that party the doors of the Ministries of Health, Education, and Culture. I think that we are going a long way. If UNITA had won the elections, I doubt that they would have opened the government to other parties, even those with which they have signed agreements. I am offering them the opportunity to show what they have got. But I will never offer them the election results. Especially since it was we who proposed a lengthy transition period, and UNITA that demanded immediate elections! Now they have to accept the consequences of the positions that they supported.

[Queiroz] What will be the structure of your government?

[Moco] As you know, I am limited by constitutional law, which obliges me to form a government very close to the previous one, in terms of structure. But I am going to present some innovations. I plan on merging Finance with Planning. I am going to create a Secretary of State for the Environment, to fulfill the MPLA's election promises, and because ecological issues concern me personally and I will dedicate all my attention to them. I am going to invite an independent to be the Secretary of State for Religious Affairs, a new position in my government. This question is extremely important for the new regime. In the single-party system the churches were marginalized and I believe that that was a serious mistake. We need to call upon the various churches to help us create national unity and promote reconciliation among all Angolans. The Ministry of Information, in principal, will be called the Ministry of the Media and its principal function will be rebuilding the infrastructure. UNITA destroyed many things when it returned to the war.

[Queiroz] And the reforms begun in 1990?

[Moco] We are going to continue them, now at top speed. Perfecting the judicial system will allow us to better fight corruption, and in addition, I hope to be able to establish the position of a High Authority against corruption. The war and the centralized economy resulted in corrupt acts. Corruption was linked to the system. I believe that with the establishment of the market economy we will also gain something in that area, even knowing that it is impossible to eliminate the cancer of corruption in any society. The market economy, peace, and perfecting the judicial system will be powerful weapons against corruption. This is a big pledge on the part of my government: we will create a state of law, the most perfect possible.

[Queiroz] And the privatizations?

[Moco] They will continue for now, in a realistic manner; and always safeguarding Angola's interests, we will continue with the economic resizing and banking reform. In this area, however, we are limiting ourselves to continuing the policy that has been followed the last two years.

[Queiroz] And agricultural policy?

[Moco] If the war ends, we will accelerate it to the maximum. Agriculture is a priority area of my government and we will channel all the resources there that we can. Of course the primary sector will always be family farming.

[Queiroz] And the integration of the thousands of war refugees?

[Moco] I do not have detailed plans, but I must say that that is at the forefront of my concerns, and I will devote particular attention to the problem of the demobilized persons, the former fighters, the war orphans. As you know, the nongovernmental organizations have excellent programs, and we will place priority on working with those institutions. There are also very serious problems in the health area, and in addition to the government's programs, we will work with institutions to help us resolve those problems.

[Queiroz] As part of your agricultural policy do you anticipate land reform?

[Moco] Happily, that is not a problem in Angola: We have more than 1 million square km for 10 million people. I am amazed that there are politicians in this country who dedicate themselves to killing their compatriots in a war which, since the Bicesse Agreements, cannot be justified. We are so few that I am seriously thinking of promoting an emigration policy as a way of catalyzing trade, industry, and agriculture—in sum, to stimulate competition.

[Queiroz] That means you will encourage foreigners to live in Angola?

[Moco] Exactly. Of course, the largest source of emigration to Angola would have to be Portugal, since we have very strong historical and cultural ties. Angolans will always come first, but without old traditions or wrong ideas. Many people tell me that the distribution network of the Portuguese, many of whom were simple store-keepers in the jungle, is sorely missed. I think that no one will dispute that. With this emigration policy, I will bring modernity and progress to Angola. With the support of those emigrants we will rapidly recover the infrastructure that was destroyed during the years of war...

[Queiroz] For that you would need much money that, it is said, Angola does not have. Where will you go to seek those financial resources?

[Moco] I don't want to avoid your question, but let's set an appointment for one month from now. At that time

we will speak about this issue. I think that then I will be able to give you a complete response that will also be good news for all Angolans.

[Queiroz] Does your cabinet represent a break with the previous government or rather will it be a line of continuity?

[Moco] In Angola, a politician that breaks away is lost. Thus, there is no break with the previous government. But I can define my government as a cabinet with much youth and competence, without forgetting the problem of national unity. As Agostinho Neto said, we are a nation made up of several nations. We will always have that present, and we are assuming a social democratic program in which liberty will be tempered with the principles of social justice.

[Queiroz] Until now you have held the position of MPLA secretary general. That could create mistrust among the opposition. Are you going to resist the temptation to make the government and its institutions more partisan?

[Moco] It is impossible to make the institutions and the government partisan, if only because the MPLA itself has functioned more as a broad front than as a classic party. The country no longer belongs to the party that won the elections, but rather to all Angolans. The monolithism that exists in the heads of many people, particularly Jonas Savimbi's, will be fought by me and my government. I assure you that the opposition will always have a word to say and will be heard. Democracy triumphed in the September elections, I can assure you.

The Man From Huambo

Marcolino Moco once came to me in Lisbon. He was then a young MPLA official in Huambo and already had an air of serenity and tranquility about him, and his shyness exasperated me. He economized on words like moneylenders economize on pennies. But when he opened his mouth he was always right, even though he left floating in the air the impression that he was asking forgiveness for not being so exact and rigorous.

He began to be active in the MPLA in 1974, in Huambo, and that was a good school: at that time the organization had figures of great prestige in that province. I remember the late lamented Joaquim Kapango, one of a series of highly regarded officials, many of them assassinated by UNITA in the years of fire after 1975. Marcolino Moco had completely broken with the Higher Seminary of Christ Our King in Huambo. He had completed the formal seventh year of schooling and the revolution was calling him down other paths. Thus ended the religious vocation of a "Huambo boy" who began his training in

the evangelical Catholic missions of Kipeio and Kuma (Lower Seminary of the Holy Spirit).

In 1978 he represented the MPLA in the Avanta Festival. A difficult mission, if we bear in mind that on 27 May 1977, some people linked to the PCP [Portuguese Communist Party] had been involved with the NITistas [expansion not given] who unleashed a bloody coup d'état that marked the future of Angola and the MPLA itself in a dramatic way. But Marcolino Moco carried out his mission with incredible efficiency. And he managed to escape the indiscreet questions of the Portuguese reporters who wanted to know if the MPLA, despite the involvement of people linked to the PCP in the 27 May coup, was a "brother party."

When Moco returned to Angola and his Huambo, the house that we then shared was empty of his silence, his discreet presence, his friendship, and his dreams. One of his dreams was to study law, while maintaining his political militancy. Like someone who doesn't really want it, the Angolan prime minister studied voluntarily and graduated in 1986 from Agostinho Neto University. The previous year his militancy was awarded with his election to the MPLA Central Committee. With his degree and more free time, he accepted the invitation to be governor of Bie Province, the position he held until 1987.

At the end of that year and until 1989 he was governor of Huambo Province. That year he was invited to join the government, taking over the Youth and Sports portfolio. In 1991 he was elected MPLA secretary general, for which he abandoned the government and dedicated himself entirely to the party he had joined 17 years earlier.

Marcolino Moco is married and has five children because "I live in an under-populated country," as he himself says ironically. He is impassioned by the reform process and was one of the first MPLA leaders to fight for the end of the single-party regime and for the establishment of a pluralistic and democratic society. At the time, he was greatly criticized, but now he recognizes that "there is broad consensus within the MPLA with respect to me."

Marcolino Moco continues to be the tranquil and calm young man I knew 14 years ago in Lisbon. The same shyness, but also the same assurance in his opinions. There are those who believe he was nominated as prime minister because he is Umbundu, thus constituting an important barrier against the arguments of Savimbi and UNITA. It could be that he was indeed nominated for the post for that reason. But soon it will be understood that behind that shyness and those silences is a politician with ideas and a man who studies the political phenomena of our times. He is definitely not a prime minister to be used as a fuse. The man from Huambo will surprise many people!

* New MPLA Government, Armed Forces Analyzed

93AF0263A Lisbon *PUBLICO* in Portuguese
10 Dec 92 p 16

[Article by Jose Eduardo Agualusa]

[Text] The results of the Angolan elections, in which MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] received more votes than Eduardo dos Santos, plus the conflict with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], have brought about a shift in the relative positions of forces within the government camp. Although the figure of the president dominated until the end of the elections, it seems that now the radical wing of the party is prevailing.

The new Angolan Government represents a victory of the hardest-line factions of MPLA over the Angolan president, sources close to the presidency in Luanda say. "It was a real purge of the elements closest to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. It was a concerted effort by the most radical wing of the regime against the most moderate, the youngest and best informed," affirmed someone close to the office of president of the Republic of Angola, who asked to remain anonymous.

The same source cites as examples the fall of the governor and deputy governor of the National Bank of Angola, Madeira Torres and Mario Palhares, and of Burity da Silva and Francisco Espirito Santo, respectively the minister and deputy minister of education in the previous executive branch and, especially, the downfall of former Minister of Information Rui Carvalho and his deputy minister, Aldemiro da Conceicao. Furthermore, Assuncao dos Anjos, a high official at Futungo de Belas, who had even been mentioned as Angola's future ambassador in Lisbon, has seen his position greatly weakened.

The misunderstandings between Futungo de Belas, headquarters of the offices of president of the Republic, and the leadership of the ruling party have for several years now been one of the favorite topics of conversation in the streets of Luanda. Jose Eduardo dos Santos was accused of having built up a veritable parallel government around himself. Some of his former associates, such as Aldemiro da Conceicao, later attained high positions in the government apparatus. The results of the first Angolan elections, by giving the absolute majority to MPLA but not to Jose Eduardo dos Santos, reinforced the position of the most radical and "hawkish" elements of the party and permitted the removal of the "men from Futungo."

Institutional Guerrilla Warfare

The institutional guerrilla warfare between the presidency of the Republic and the government has now reached the media. *JORNAL DE ANGOLA* and Radio Nacional carried vehement criticisms of Marcolino Moco for having reserved certain posts in his government for UNITA without naming the individuals who will occupy them. The assignment of the culture portfolio to UNITA has generated particular

controversy, as some maintain that Jonas Savimbi's movement is behind the recent assassination of persons associated with the cultural life of this country, such as poet Fernando Marcelino, or physician and journalist David Bernardino.

In Luanda, people are also commenting on the fall into disgrace of General Franca N'dalu—Jonas Savimbi's favored interlocutor—who was replaced at the head of the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) General Staff by Joao de Matos, a defender of the so-called "military solution" to the Angolan impasse. Even stranger is the disappearance from public view of Jose Maria, a three-star general and adviser to the president of the Republic on security matters. Jose Maria was for several years one of the most powerful men in Angola, and many people saw him as Jose Eduardo dos Santos's heir apparent. In circles close to Futungo de Belas, there are those who insist that the name of General Jose Maria appears on compromising documents discovered at UNITA headquarters. These documents, some of which have already been made public by the Angolan Government, indicated an intention by Jonas Savimbi's movement to seize power by force with the support of BOSS [Bureau of State Security] (South African secret services) and a small group of officers from the former FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola].

But it is not only within the MPLA inner circle that the formation of the new government has created problems. A leader of the Democratic Renewal Party (PRD) told *PUBLICO* that he does not concur with the position taken by Amadeu Neves, who handles economic issues for the party and who has agreed to accept a post in the new Angolan executive branch. In the opinion of this leader, who also asked to remain anonymous out of fear for his safety, the new Angolan Government, although the result of elections "intends, in the last analysis, to reinstall the totalitarian system. In addition to this it is a bad arrangement because it does not even reflect the ethnic realities of this country. The very few Ovimbundu and Quicongo who have accepted government portfolios are all party men who were disgruntled; so the party has found a way to silence them."

* Socioeconomic Situation in Huambo Worsening

93AF0263C Luanda *JORNAL DE ANGOLA* in Portuguese 10 Dec 92 p 3

[Text] Huambo—The deterioration in living conditions in Huambo is beginning to assume unbearable proportions. Ever since last Friday, the city has been in the dark as the result of disruptions in the fuel reserves for the thermoelectric power plant that also serves the municipality of Caala.

At this point, according to a *JORNAL DE ANGOLA* source, there is no alternative in sight to improve the situation, since Sonangol [National Angolan Fuel Company] trucks are neither arriving nor leaving Lobito (Benguela Province).

The race into this drama was visible to all. This time, as the last liters of fuel were exhausted, life took on a

complex cast. Lamp oil is no longer being sold, either, and when it does show up on the black markets, it is sold at a high price per liter.

Although in broad daylight it has been very hard to find anyone on the streets—especially between 1400 and 1800 hours (normal working hours)—now, with the lack of electric lighting the nights have become even more monotonous.

The Cuca brewery (one of the success stories) that has always helped people of different social levels in this province, and elsewhere too, did not escape the fuel crisis either. Its production lines are expected to shut down in the next few days.

The solutions proposed by the provincial government to overcome some of the immediate difficulties—ideas such as we have reported—were not put into practice for obvious reasons: the absence of a dialogue between the parties (the government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]) that could lead to the opening of the major access roads to the coast.

In fact, according to Provincial Governor Baltazar Manuel, all activities aimed at relieving the social conditions of the residents remain only good intentions.

"Most of the municipal and commune administrative personnel have departed for parts unknown. Persecution of these people is a fact. In the city itself, the companies are not fully operating and people are not free to travel," he said.

The constant presence of FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] soldiers at the Water Treatment and Catchment Station worries the residents, and efforts made to permanently improve the pumping system have ended in failure. The government had made about \$4 million available for that project, which also included replacement of obsolete main pipelines and repair of the storage tank that serves tall buildings.

The energy available in the agricultural sector and the abundance of food were evident in the province. This, according to Baltazar Manuel, led the government to direct its main efforts to areas that would benefit the masses.

By way of explanation he mentioned the purchase of vehicles, medicines, and two locomotives to restore passenger and freight traffic on the Huambo-Caala branch line. All this was supposed to be achieved before Christmas.

The first and second phase of the government's operating plan also included restoration of the ability of small businessmen to operate. This involved importation of raw materials for shoemakers, tailors, hairdressers, photographers, and others. The bulk of the products arrived in Angola but were looted at the port of Lobito and at the warehouses in Huambo.

On the basis of certain influences and ideas that germinated between the state of Virginia (United States) and the city of

Huambo, several agreements of social impact were concluded and were expected to be implemented soon.

"Really, what is happening in Huambo is the exacerbation of the military situation. That is why people who say that the government betrayed the common people when the armed conflicts were imminent did not fully realize how difficult it is to exercise administrative power over a region. We have no room to maneuver and so there are no alternatives to the execution of the programs," he said at one point.

Baltazar Manuel also said that in the rural communities, the peasants are not very ambitious. All they need is to have their fears quieted and to be able to move around without hindrance.

"Therefore," he added, "the government's effort has been concentrated on building and equipping the schools and hospitals. The first steps have already been taken."

"In general, the Bailundo people are honest and hard-working. They want to be respected, but they yield to the blackmail of weapons in order to save their lives."

"That sort of situation," he said, "must be eradicated by the new government. This necessitates the demilitarization of the FALA and their reincorporation into productive life."

Anarchy at the Airport

Huambo's city airport has recently been experiencing an influx of people who go there to try to get their hands on goods being unloaded from the airplanes.

Every time a plane flies over the city crowds of people, especially residents of the neighborhoods on the outskirts of the city, start racing onto the runway. This has provoked violent reactions on the part of the police. It is important to make the Albano Machado Airport a site free of anarchy, as it was in the past.

The deterioration of the conditions of survival in Huambo has led 500 families, aided by the Ministry of Social Reincorporation and charitable organizations, to flee to Luanda. According to Baltazar Manuel, that figure gets higher every day, and the situation may get even worse in the near future if urgent measures are not taken.

* Security, Economic Situation in Huambo

* Daily Activities

93AF0205A Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 10 Nov 92 p 3

[Report by Julio Gomes: "Huambo Continues Lifeless"]

[Text] Huambo (From our bureau)—The residents of the city of Huambo have not been going out in the streets during their free time since the skirmishes of last 29 and

30 October that involved elements of the FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and personnel of the National Police.

No curfew has been ordered in this city, but the current situation resembles one rather closely. Between 1400 and 1800, and especially between 1800 and 0700, it is very rare to see people or vehicles on the streets (unlike the old days).

It has not been very easy to traverse the district of Sao Joao at any hour of the day. Not even the police are able to move freely, in order to patrol the streets and impose order. Some government leaders who lived in Sao Joao have abandoned their residences and moved to the city's heights.

In short, some aspects of the situation are beginning to seem inexplicable.

According to a survey made by JORNAL DE ANGOLA, the residents of Sao Joao are very angry, because they want immediate solutions to the present problems such as an end to the skirmishes and the creation of a climate that will enable them to perform their daily tasks. No one is sure, however, that hidden forces do not lie behind these developments.

Sao Joao is a relatively undeveloped but densely populated district of the city of Huambo. It has few commercial establishments, and virtually no site for pleasant conviviality among friends in their free time except for the Candumbo discotheque on the outskirts of the district.

The most recent efforts apparently being made by private persons to draw the bulk of Sao Joao's residents out of their lethargy were unsuccessful, inasmuch as many projects were badly conceived and others left unfinished.

It is essential to make Sao Joao once again a place where everyone feels welcome and where no one—especially young people—need feel frustrated.

Looting has been replaced by the accelerated and anarchic occupation of the residences that are being abandoned by their legal occupants because of the political and military instability.

As of last Sunday at least 20 apartments had been occupied immediately after their abandonment and without observance of the legal formalities. According to some individuals contacted by JORNAL DE ANGOLA, "you get inside first and the rest comes later, because the institutions in charge of distribution have been carrying it out unfairly."

The ineffectiveness of the government organizations in the province obviously means that a number of specific situations are not being corrected, thereby creating a state of disorder such as has never before been seen in Huambo.

The police have not yet been called on to assume certain responsibilities that will enable them to orient their action in this direction. Interestingly enough, many policemen lost their own residences together with their respective belongings, and it would therefore not be very easy for them to take action.

Although food and money tend to be scarce in most households, electricity has recently become one resource that is frequently available in the city of Huambo.

The number of complaints from residents has been reduced, thanks to the efforts initiated by the organization that has overall responsibility for creating fuel reserves and maintaining the only thermal electric power plant that generates electricity simultaneously for Huambo and Caala.

The provincial directorate of community services recently discussed the possibility of completing the program for illumination of the outlying districts of the city, with a view to benefiting a large part of the population.

After the destruction of the hydroelectric dam at Lommaun, Benguela Province, the government decided to install generators in a number of areas, but these generators had only a brief existence because of insufficient maintenance and other reasons.

As a consequence of the shutdown at Lommaun, the production of various factories sustained serious setbacks that were never rectified, with the resultant disruption of the lives of the workers and citizens in general.

The alternative of isolated generator groups was also adopted by most of the major factories and enterprises, which have had to cope with innumerable difficulties in order to keep the groups in operation.

As a result, only the restoration of the supply of hydroelectric power can enable the local factories—some of which have export potential—to utilize their full installed capacity.

The residents of the neighboring province of Bie have been without television for more than two weeks.

The transmitters of TPA [Angolan People's Television]/Huambo have not sustained significant damage and are still operational, but their technicians and operators have not returned to their posts, because of the unsafe conditions.

"We want to work, but that is not enough. There must be guarantees for our physical safety," we were told by a source that asked to remain anonymous.

Concurrently with the paralyzation of the TPA, destruction of the regional radio broadcasting station makes it quite difficult to receive the RNA [Angola National

Radio] programs, and because of the suspension of the TAAG [Angolan Airlines] flights to this city the JORNAL DE ANGOLA is no longer available here.

Given this situation, the residents of the central plateau are largely uninformed concerning current events.

* Savimbi's Stronghold

93AF0205B Lisbon PUBLICO in Portuguese 24 Nov 92
pp 2-4

[Article by Luis Pedro Nunes: "In Huambo, Where Savimbi Called a Halt to the War"; words within slant-lines published in English]

[Text] Savimbi's stronghold is Huambo, and although his "White House" is guarded like a treasure trove, no one ever discovered for certain if he was there. The deserted, half-destroyed city is not in flames, but there are small fires that UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] are controlling. Reports are arriving from Luanda of massacres of "people from the South" that make this city of the plateau region look like an island of peace—but a "peace with hunger," because nothing is getting through from the coast, from Lobito.

The "commando" troops are there, with their heavy weapons and their arrogant attitude. The street is blocked off. A short distance away—30 or 40 meters—is the famous "White House," Jonas Savimbi's residence in Huambo. Whether Savimbi is there or not, the military apparatus has changed little, to judge from appearances. The "old man's" /staff/ insists that he was there yesterday—but no one will ever know. In Huambo—Angola's second largest city—there is no water, and there is electricity for only six hours a day. TV? Forget it. There is no war going on in Huambo, however, for "the president ordered it to stop."

There are those who say that by not making a letter-of-the-law response "to Luanda's tribal genocide," the UNITA leader wanted to score points—wanted to show that in his territory there are no conflicts, and that Bicesse is being complied with. But in the city—which has been half destroyed by 16 years of conflict—so much calm is very strange, and people are on their guard. At night—some nights—shots are heard, bursts of gunfire. The following morning people say there was "a situation," a little "maka" [confusion]—nothing special. That is what both UNITA and the government say. It is better not to boast.

"Go to Huambo? No problem." Given the situation in Luanda, Savimbi's city is viewed as an impregnable ("bunker"). In eight and a half hours, a UNITA GMC ("pickup") deposited us there, en route from Lobito.

When you first arrive, Huambo gives the appearance of a ghost city where everything—but everything—has been lashed by the war countless times. It is a young city whose colors have not yet been faded by the sun. The

only flags you see are the green and red of UNITA: dozens of them, and they are everywhere. There are two MPLA flags, however: one on the government building and one at the airport, but they are in the minority. "Huambo belongs to the kwachas" [Savimbi supporters]," the UNITA people say. No one doubts it. The paint of the Cuban /"graffiti"/ is by now barely visible.

The Governor Fleed

The MPLA governor was well aware of this reality. When the first shots were fired he took off for the capital, and his absence is of course the butt of UNITA jokes. The "hot potato" wound up in the hands of his deputies. The fact is that Savimbi's men and the government's men are constantly rushing to the suburbs to "put out fires" such as minor disturbances, a death or two, a burned-out car, or excited groups of UNITA youth who have decided it is time to avenge Luanda.

The picture resembles a stereotype. There, in the foreground, during the skirmishes of Day 30—let's call it that—a Russian helicopter was downed. The children of Huambo are swinging on the propellers of an abandoned aircraft that cost millions. Well, it is good, indeed good, to provide the journalist with stereotypes. At times it doesn't work, and things take their course. Xavier, a guerrilla now forced to live in the city, cannot help saying, "We don't want war, but we had to strike back."

What you hear is nothing dramatic, but instead a wise-crack accompanied by bursts of laughter: "Of course, in Luanda everyone must believe that everything is being put to the fire and sword...for otherwise how could the governor justify his own flight? The man had to make his mark in history."

To be sure, Huambo is not in flames. But there are small fires, very minor fires, which must be kept to a minimum. One of the "firefighters"—the expression is theirs—is Vice Governor Chiteculo, 40, who deserted from the Portuguese Army in 1973 to join the MPLA guerrilla force. With an infected shrapnel wound in his neck that urgently requires an operation which he has always postponed, this government official makes a point of walking without an escort through areas where even roosters fly and fly very high. "The leaders of the MPLA and UNITA get along well with each other; the rank and file are the worst," he says.

They Are Killing the People From the South

In Huambo, leaders from both sides—no matter who—wave at each other when their vehicles pass on the streets, which are so full of potholes that no one can drive any faster than 30 miles an hour. But how can you control thousands—or tens or hundreds of thousands—of people who gnash their teeth as they listen to the people from Luanda?

The priests and ministers of many religions—which resemble each other in almost all respects—preach fiery sermons. "The people in Luanda are not against

UNITA," PUBLICO has heard them say. "They are killing the people from the South, even those who belong to the MPLA." Indeed; as if it were difficult to obtain a weapon and get justice.

Savimbi has ordered that there be peace, and the local MPLA concurs. But what about the rank and file of each side? Caala is the second-largest city in the province and has a "timid" administrator who—just as many Angolans—does not know very well in what direction the wind will blow and has opted to keep quiet. The government and UNITA decided to go there.

And that means Chiteculo and "brother" Leonel Gomes, a sparsely bearded young man whose discourse is impassioned but more spontaneous and better organized. Only a year ago Gomes was one of those people who carry a notebook around and write everything down—but for the MPLA side, you must understand. Then came Bicesse, and in response to the contingencies of the war he finally became an outspoken UNITA supporter.

So Caala has problems? Both sides—both Chiteculo and Leonel—must accordingly go there and rouse the administrator from his lethargy, for the city cannot remain idle. They will also take the occasion to solve the problem of the police chief, who neither wears his uniform nor spends his nights in the city. And of course PUBLICO's journalists will as usual take the opportunity to see how things are going there.

We went there in two jeeps. The government's representative was in the lead vehicle, which at one point came to a stop. A young man wearing civilian clothes and a UNITA cap, machine gun at the ready, had seen fit to set up a check point in the street all by himself. He had stopped a truck and was searching bundles of clothes. The MPLA representative asked what was going on. "Park over there," the young man said, menacingly. Leonel had "a situation" on his hands: a pirate check point that intended to check out the MPLA representative and the journalists in the jeep.

The conversation took place in the Mbundu language. Even without knowing the meaning of the words, their tone was unmistakable: it was a dressing-down, delivered by persons in authority. At lunch the government's Chiteculo and UNITA's Leonel laughed at the incident. The administrator had already been "chewed out" and Savimbi's municipal police chief ordered—with great difficulty—to return a vehicle to its private owner. (Later, in a local marketplace, this same police chief with the piercing gaze said—in a contemplative tone of voice—that the owner of the vehicle had been one of the MPLA's "bad actors" when the area was under government control, that is to say, one month previously.)

It is hard to imagine Huambo as ever having been anything other than a city with streets that destroy the shock absorbers on jeeps, residences in ruins, no shops, no restaurants, and no electricity or TV. (It is argued that the TV of the Luanda regime and its "propaganda" would merely incite the rank and file even more.) In

Huambo, as in much of the rest of the world, people who go out on the street on Sunday do so in their Sunday best. They go out even more now because there is nothing—truly nothing—else to do.

Some—a very few—are drinking whiskey at the Hotel Excelsior, otherwise deserted except for the disturbing presence of two journalists. Imagine: at a time when the country was officially at war, the hotel was still serving a "buffet" of Angolan food. Huambo—according to UNITA's representative in the province, police chief Dachala—is an "island of peace." Very well, one can agree that there is peace, but where is there something to eat? The question is not being asked by the people, but by those who, you see, recall something similar from long ago, back in 1975.

Huambo Under an Embargo

The jugular vein of Huambo—a point on the map far from the ocean—is a place called Lobito. Everything that reaches the plateau region comes from there. It may be because of the situation, or because of fear—and that is what people on all three sides (UNITA, MPLA, and the "neutrals") are saying with great conviction—but what is certain is that Huambo is under an embargo.

The rationale is simple: Why allow food and fuel to go to UNITA's "lair"? Peace is a command, hunger a contingency, but the rank and file—yes, the rank and file—are saying repeatedly: "The enemy is causing us privation.... There is hunger in UNITA's territory because of the MPLA." The respective party leaderships have concluded that it would be unwise to do anything to inflame the situation.

Because they are seated on low benches without backs, everyone is bent over with their elbows on their knees. In Chiva—one of UNITA's so-called ("hard core") districts of the city and the poorest of the poor—a meeting of JURA [Angolan Revolutionary Youth], the youth organization of Savimbi's party, is in progress. There is a journalist inside: a white journalist. He is of course accompanied by a brigadier [brigadeiro], who is likewise a member of the white race but makes an introduction in the Mbundu language. "You may continue," he said.

They continued. Sensing that he was under observation, the speaker—an "older man" with a lively gaze through thin lenses—was speaking. "We must be vigilant and say no to alcohol, or the minds and bodies of the brothers' will not function and will be disoriented.... Isn't that so?" The audience agreed, with one voice. (The UNITA leadership also uses the phrase "our tribe.") Again, at the meeting: "Firmino went to Luanda thinking he would be happy there...but he is from the South, and what happened to him?" The meeting ended. "Who is in command in our territory?" was one of the angry questions asked. "We are!" was the answer. To the questions that followed, one needed only to respond "ye-ye-ye!" ever louder.

The Portuguese Remain

After two or three days we began to understand. On our arrival, however, immediately seeing only the old broken stone of the houses and the pavement full of potholes, and secretly mindful of the words of Savimbi, the question is always present: What are the Portuguese doing here? The vice governor does not respond either, but when UNITA asks them for houses that have been "returned" or "abandoned"—some by Portuguese—he has a sarcastic response. "For 16 years UNITA knew only how to destroy houses. Now it wants houses...."

With or without looting—with warfare, and always with warfare—those idyllic years long past are nevertheless always fresh in mind, so that to ask what the Portuguese who have been here for 10, 20, or 40 years are doing in Angola makes no sense. It is something of which many Angolans—those who are of "authentic color"—are always reminding them.

"Back there in Portugal I have nothing," the Portuguese will tell you. It is curious how the picture of an orange bus in Lisbon, on a rainy morning, containing alfacinhas [Lisbon natives] filled with "urban" rancor is always a premise for reiterating: "What would I be going there for?"

Chassanha, the white brigadier—a guerrilla who in 1976 used to attack shirtless on horseback ("I saw too many movies," he says)—was speaking of Carlos, another white man who is even "darker" than he, and of Dachala, UNITA's courteous provincial leader. "Carlos speaks Portuguese poorly," Chassanha said. "He isn't white and always speaks in Mbundu. Dachala is more European than he is."

Carlos says he joined the guerrilla force because his pregnant wife—the daughter of one of the top UNITA leaders—was killed by the MPLA in 1975. When asked concerning the Portuguese in Huambo, he responds bluntly: "How many left when the Portuguese C-10 was here?" It was indeed a triumph. The Hercules landed and subsequently left with a woman and her baby. A Portuguese laughed. "We here have been vaccinated.... For 16 years in Benguela there were never any shots fired...at the first "flare-ups" a thousand fled. Here you have two people who are leaving."

Once Again, Norton de Matos

Huambo is a city that has been postponed to a later date, so to speak. The statue of its founder, Norton de Matos, was relocated during the Bicesse "armistice," together with four ladies who represent an equal number of virtues that no one is able to name. They are at a site different from the "old" one, Salazar Square.

Norton de Matos was relocated near the former finish line of the famous "Six Hours From Nova Lisboa" race, although many do not know about it. The people laugh as in any city. Everything is calm. There is an expression,

however, that might reflect what life is like there. "Everything is prepared for peace, but everything is also prepared for war." And it was a UNITA man who said that.

For the record, there is a proverb in the Mbundu language that perfectly defines this thing called Democracy: "If you see a turtle in a treetop, it is because someone put it there." "Do you get the point" the UNITA brigadier asked. "But there is also room for other interpretations," he added, amid laughter.

[Box, pp 2-3]

Our Occupation of the Huambo Airport

Huambo Airport—An official with a small monkey perched on his shoulders is insisting that "they never even used to let you take photographs." Two days ago—last Sunday—a group of journalists (the two PUBLICO reporters and four others who arrived later) took over—that is to say, took control of—the airport of the city of Huambo. Am I exaggerating?

A plane had been chartered to pick us up. Everything was confirmed by telephone calls: the hour, the price. Now the plane was coming in; we could already hear its engines. The plane was flying so high it could not be seen. To judge from the noise, it appeared to be turning around. "But there is a beam; why isn't the plane landing? Tell the fellow in the control tower to order it to land." Nothing happened. Let it be known that at Huambo Airport, no one was in the tower. Am I exaggerating?

We pushed against the door; it was open. This door, and all the doors on the stairway to the tower, were open. The plane—a fabulous, luxurious Beachcraft—was circling overhead, imagining gunfire and war down there where some astonished journalists were waiting. We climbed to the tower; no one was there at the radio. The SIC [expansion unknown] has the video to prove it. PUBLICO's news photographer tested all the frequencies, pressed all the buttons. "Hello, aircraft, this is Huambo Airport, we are the ones you came to pick up...." After a while a voice is heard saying something that sounded like a request to respond on 46 and no one knows what else.... "We are journalists and know nothing about radios...." Am I exaggerating? An SIC reporter lost his patience and said angrily: "We are journalists and we are in control of the airport!" Nothing accomplished: the plane that could never be seen was already going away.

A government representative drove up in a jeep on a Sunday outing with his family. He and the UNITA brigadier laughed at the situation. As the journalists were leaving, the PUBLICO news photographer made a point of closing the doors, one by one. "After all," he explained, "the radios might still be there tomorrow."

*** Refugees Flee Luanda**

93AF0205C Lisbon PUBLICO in Portuguese 25 Nov 92
pp 10-11

[Article by Correspondent Luis Pedro Nunes: "The Refugees of the Southern Tribe"]

[Text] Huambo—There were two containers on a truck, tied together. The best seats were in the front opening, and two soldiers were sitting there. From inside you heard words and phrases in Mbundu, many spoken by women, mixed in with the crying of children. It would take another eight, 10, or 12 hours to finally reach Bie. Huambo was the last stop. These were "our" refugees, UNITA's refugees, who had hid for more than two weeks in Luanda, were able to pass through the police check points, reached Benguela or Lobito with difficulty and by any available means, and finally received assistance from the organizations located where the territory of the Black Rooster [UNITA] begins.

Throughout Huambo to some extent, trucks were arriving and departing filled with people. Seated in the opening of one of the containers and thereby protected from the heat that was building up inside the metal container filled with people who were breathing and sweating, Jaime Antonio Kilokia insisted that although some of the people inside had supported the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], they too had to flee the Angolan capital "merely because they were from the South." He himself had served as assistant commissioner of political agitation for Luanda. He hid for three weeks in the musseques [slums on the outskirts of Luanda] and for one entire day crouched inside a water tank. He was summarizing his story, for the truck was about to leave. "It was a slaughter," he said. "They were going from house to house. First they went to the residences of the UNITA leaders, then to those of the UNITA [[National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] supporters, and finally began to kill the people from the South." The political agitation official then had something to say about foreign journalists who only talk to the refugees from Caxito—the "others," those who are fleeing from UNITA.

The refugees talk little, or not at all, among themselves but do have a desire to tell their story to their own people. Be that as it may, there are other ties that bind them. They came here at this time because only now were they able to flee. Someone in Luanda gave them shelter, and someone later gave them money so that they could pass through the check points, or at least the first three of them. Both in this case and in other stories from Lobito, the price was said to be 5,000 kwanzas per person and per check point to prove that you were not a "kwacha" [UNITA supporter].

In Huambo, in Lobito, and on the road that connects the two cities, you can see these groups of people: women with small bundles and men dressed in clothes that were given them when the UNITA uniform had to be put aside. There are no military commissions or ranks now.

These are "our" refugees, the people from the South. "What happened in Luanda had nothing to do with politics," states a UNITA member in charge of the recently created commission of support for the refugees from Luanda.

Still far from Huambo was Jose Fernando, 22, a mulatto whose father was Portuguese and with whom he has never "corresponded." He cannot stop smiling. He was 12 years old when he was recruited for Jamba. He has not seen his mother in 10 years. "She thinks I am dead, and will be glad. I think she will." He was a soldier from the South, on his way to Bie.

*** Brigadier Chassanha**

93AF0205D Lisbon PUBLICO in Portuguese 25 Nov 92
pp 12-13

[Article by Correspondent Luis Pedro Nunes]

[Text] *They are not city-oriented; they are men of the bush. They waged guerrilla warfare; they dream of being ranchers. Their color differentiates them from the other men of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].*

There are lives like this. At 17 years of age Chassanha thought the greatest thing in the world was to play the drums and wear his hair long; at 20 it was to be a soldier in the Portuguese Army. Three years later he was already a UNITA guerrilla. At 40 he is a brigadier whose uniform has been put in storage, and—by order of the party—is a "nursemaid" to journalists. The war left one of his legs shorter than the other, and the expression on his face can change rapidly from affable to fearsome. The mustache—that mustache!—is ideal either for clouding or for lightening his countenance. His dream—and it is a dream—is to own a ranch, in the event he has the money for it.

"A mechanic can go anywhere here and always have something to do," Chassanha says. "I came here, and what did I say? I am a mercenary; is there someone for me to kill?" He is not making a confession; let us call it a nonchalant conversation.

"Chassanha"—which in Mbundu means "it is hot"—is the pseudonym of Antonio Manuel Urbano, an Angolan whose parents live in Mirandela. A UNITA member of Parliament, elected from Huambo, he was given the mission of "guiding" the two "papa-limas" [lime eaters] who had arrived in the city. "Papa-lima" is the code name—repeated on the radio—that stands for the letters P and L of the word "paleio" [idle chatter], as he explained later, drumming his fingers beside his mouth. The term and the gesture are used to describe journalistic activity. In the city, as he is showing these "papa-limas" whatever they want to see, he sometimes comes across another brigadier—an "explosives expert" who follows in a new automobile. The countenance of the other brigadier reflects enjoyment, of the "who saw you..." type [meaning unclear].

Chassanha—who according to close associates was honored by a song where he was wounded—was already expecting the question concerning his color. "They always come with these stories about racism within UNITA," he said, "but what whites in 1975 chose to take to the forest? I did. And that wasn't exactly an invitation to a banquet." Later, he implicitly gave us to believe that the "tests" he had to pass in order to win respect were more severe than one would have expected.

On a Gold Wire...

He has six bodyguards, all of them guerrillas whom he virtually raised. "They would give their life for me," he said. He has been wounded seven times, and the last time they needed three hours to rescue him from the "situation." "Two of my men died, and seven were wounded," he said. "I have experienced every type of warfare, but it is guerrilla warfare that I enjoy most." Chassanha speaks countless times of peace, but it is when he speaks of himself in the forest with his men that he is stimulated and gets excited.

Here are some isolated comments by Chassanha. "The strongest part of a gold wire is the fastener, but that is always where it breaks. When you attack you should concentrate on the enemy's strongest unit. That will be the end of him." Or: "In Mavinga, the Soviets always made the same mistakes. For example, they used the Portuguese commandos' strategy of putting some men behind our lines," he said, to the accompaniment of a burst of laughter foretelling some supposedly obvious error in strategy. "They were going by old military maps," he explained. "When they arrived at the points where there was supposed to be water, everything was dry. After four days...." Or: "We had as many as 1,500 snipers, to keep anyone from getting near the river. They had not so much as a drop of water. They even disguised themselves as corn farmers." Or: "When you put two battalions to work digging, it is quite a spectacle." If he had the money for the ranch....

The war seemed to have ended. Chassanha began to develop a "bourgeois belly." When he arrived in Huambo—the guerrilla zone that he commanded until 1979—he visited the grave of his comrade Wong Wei Sam, who had presided over his baptism as a guerrilla in those days when you still missed your morning coffee and had not yet mastered the art of rolling one-handed the tobacco that UNITA was planting. "He taught me a lot of Oriental patience," Chassanha said. "Once when we had nothing—but nothing—to eat he tried to cook grass, but it wouldn't cook at all." There was another time when they had to eat water buffalo for days without end. "All our joints were rattling," he said.

When there is talk of deaths, the topic is almost always couched in abstract terms. Of the instances of justice or injustice—of innocent victims, bombs, kidnappings, or cruelties—nothing is said. These are things that are "inherent" in guerrilla warfare. The interlocutors are "papa-limas."

For this reason—or from conviction—Chassanha says over and over again that there should be no more war. "But if there is...hey, there won't be anyone left to tell the story, and you will have to give a different name to this country." His tone is decidedly threatening. One thing is certain: Chassanha does not belong in a city—even a city such as Huambo—where he is obliged to "promenade" with "papa-limas." The road leads to the forest. The decision as to whether he will return in the old uniform or dressed as a rancher is not his to make.

[Box, p 12]

Walter Vouches for Savimbi

"That reported massacre in Huambo did not happen," Jonas Savimbi assured the Voice of America. "Ask Colonel Walter." Col. Jose Walter—a descendant of Madeira residents, white, short of stature, mustached, 32 years of age, balding, extremely cheerful, and second in command of the government troops on the central front—says: "I didn't hear Dr. Savimbi, but if that is what he said, it is the truth." And he added: "There have been—and are—incidents, but we cannot speak of massacres. I believe he has confidence in the information we give him."

The colonel is not a man who likes to speak of himself. His refusal to engage in any discussion of war is understandable, after 16 years of military life—after more than a year of cease-fire and at a time when he is hoping to be demobilized. Seated in a large room where UNAVEM [UN Angola Verification Mission] is operating (these are installations where two men—one from UNITA and the other from MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]—centralize the radio communications, knowing at every moment what the situation is in the city), Col. Walter reflects: "It is the military who have suffered from the war...the same on both sides. If their experiences are so similar, that is why they get along with each other better than the politicians do."

The shots fired in Huambo were the advance signal of all that took place in Angola. The version that follows was supplied by this colonel, who hopes to own a construction company—or even a ranch, perhaps in partnership with Chassanha, who knows? A policeman was kidnapped by UNITA sympathizers, and UNAVEM went to the site to try to resolve the situation. When the UNAVEM representatives drew near, the policeman was killed; the police rebelled and opened fire. Who was to blame? Not the police, he says, and on this point he disagrees with UNITA. "But neither can we say that everyone's hands are clean," he adds.

Some hours after the confrontations began, Jonas Savimbi summoned to his residence—the "White House"—the top commanders of both sides. The military representative of the government said: "It ordered a cease-fire, but the masses must be sensitized. These small skirmishes could also result in major actions." He ordered them to stop. In Luanda, nothing had happened

yet. Would there be a chain reaction? "I do not think so," he said. "Things are different at the national level."

While the meeting was taking place, the deputy chief of police arrived. He said little and did not want to commit himself. UNITA's Chassanha also arrived. (On that same day, three supporters of Savimbi's party had set an automobile afire; the commission had not arrived in time to prevent it. General Wio, of UNITA, "detained" the three individuals, but they were not turned over to the police.)

"Bear this in mind: the working relationship between us is good," Walter said, in an effort to wind up the conversation. Did the two MPLA representatives feel they had been abandoned by the governor, who left the city when the confrontations began? The two men smiled and said, "No comment," whereupon Chassanha let loose a loud burst of laughter.

* More Effective Border Posts Reduce Smuggling

93AF0242B Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 3 Dec 92 p 4

[Article by Silva Lopes]

[Text] Namibe—The entering into operation of some customs control and monitoring posts on the border with Namibia, recently reactivated by the Namibe and Huila customs authorities, is having the expected results. There has already been some reduction in the illegal trafficking to and from Namibia of diverse merchandise, which occurred in the absence of authority at the aforementioned customs posts located along the border. These had been deactivated, in part, because of the war.

Customs Service Regional Director Joaquim Malheiro, interviewed by our reporter, stated that illegal trade on the border with Namibia, across which large quantities of diverse merchandise, such as vehicles, had been introduced, has significantly declined. That is because of the reactivation of some customs and monitoring posts which had fallen into abandon over the years.

The regional customs administration headquartered in Namibe, because of its commercial port, and encompassing Huila, Cunene, and Kwando Kubango Provinces, has, according to its spokesperson Joaquim Malheiro, several times denounced various types of activity, specifically the smuggling across the border with Namibia of large quantities of canned beer, vehicles to be traded for heads of cattle, stereo equipment, and other industrial goods for the aforementioned four provinces of Angola, and this without completing the legal formalities required for importing and exporting in this country, and with the complicity of certain authorities. In Joaquim Malheiro's view, the control of trade on the border is advantageous to the country because, according to him, that is how (some) revenue and general state budget funds are collected.

"Illegal trade on the border, which has gone on for many years, has resulted in extensive damage to the state, which can be calculated in billions of new kwanzas," claimed Joaquim Malheiro, adding that "even with the recent entering into operation of some posts, particularly those at Octicango and Santa Clara (Cunene Province), some smuggling and black-market trade in drugs, jewelry, and other goods still escapes the customs authorities in Cunene and Huila."

"This situation," he said, "is due in part to the military instability still prevailing in several border areas, while the lack of customs guards and more adequately supplied posts are other negative factors favoring illegal trade on the border. Two years ago or less the national beer "Ngola," headquartered in Huila, could not compete against the inundation of varieties of brands in the four provinces, such as "Whindoeck," "Lion," "Special," and other brands that were sold at low prices, 1,000 kwanzas."

The importation of those brands into Angola occurred in an anarchic manner, with no payment of customs duties. Except in Namibe Province, where some "honest" importers operated so as to register their merchandise, the lack of functioning customs services for 15 years allowed that system to be perpetuated.

However, at least the situation with which we are now faced is different from that of previous years. This is because today, whoever goes to the neighboring province of Namibe (Huila) can observe a long line of trucks (there are those who say that it has even reached 400 meters) in front of the customs office in the city of Lubango, which is a financial institution recently reinaugurated to control and register imports and exports. Trucks not only from the southern region (Namibe, Huila, Cunene, and Kwando Kubango), but from other areas of the country as well travel to the Namibian border to illegally penetrate that country and South Africa, from whence they bring vehicles, merchandise, and other items traded or marketed at high prices. At this time the situation is already somewhat or significantly different, to the extent that the "Ngola" beer factory is now breathing easier, given that the vandalism of "Whindoeck," "Lion," "Special," and other brands that once inundated the domestic market of the four provinces has diminished significantly. The small quantities currently entering are sold at exorbitant prices, with the region's citizens preferring and returning to the domestic beers, "Bulunga," and "Kanhome," the latter a fermented drink in Huila, Cunene, and Kwando Kubango. Illegal trade has resulted in diversions from official distribution channels of large quantities of cattle, whose owners prefer to trade them in Namibia for vehicles, furniture, appliances, and industrial goods that generate fabulous profits. According to our information, some Angolan citizens do nothing more than practice this "back-and-forth" trade in a vicious cycle, trading in vehicles, particularly the famous "right-hand drives."

According to Joaquim Malheiro, this year some 2,000 vehicles have entered this country from Namibia, many of them out of circulation in that country. Those that do not escape the customs services pay into the state general budget [OGE] revenues calculated at more than 600 million new kwanzas, including, of course, customs duties levied on merchandise entering on ships through the Namibe commercial port, the volume of which is more than one million tons.

According to Joaquim Malheiro, the financial institution he administers for the southern region has various projects in its portfolio, including building schools to train cadres in Huila Province, residences for cadres transferring to various areas of the country, and activities aimed at reactivating all customs posts, as well as the customs delegation in the capital of Cunene (Ondjima), inoperative for more than 17 years.

Strengthening the customs guards through adequate preparation and supplies of firearms is another project for the long- and medium-terms.

Joaquim Malheiro pointed out that protectionism in the domestic market is indispensable, as it constitutes a mechanism through which one's country's economy can be defended, and ours is no exception from the rule. "The Gross Domestic Product" [GDP] is down 90 percent, reflecting the low productivity in the factories and farms due to military instability, among other things, and resulting in increased customs duties for the import and export of merchandise," he concluded.

* Displaced Persons Commission Created in Namibe

93AF0242A *Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA* in Portuguese 24 Nov 92 p 3

[Text] Namibe—A commission to support displaced persons in the provinces of Malanje, Bengo, and Kwanza-Norte was created last weekend in the city of Namibe, in the province of the same name, Angop [Angolan Press Agency] was informed. Promoted by local residents of the aforementioned provinces and people of good faith and goodwill, the commission is comprised of five members and works with two subcommissions, one for collecting funds and the other for transportation and logistics. The aforementioned subcommissions are comprised of officials of the Finance Ministry, the Secretariat of State for Social Affairs, TAAG [Angolan Airlines], the Angolan Red Cross, and two local business people. According to the organizing committee coordinator, a bank account has already been opened in the course of efforts to support the dislocated populations in the three provinces involved. Manuel Balao added that other people (individuals and groups), as well as the provincial government, are also involved in this "solidarity" movement. The population is facing this situation because of the occupation by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] of the provincial capitals of Bengo and Kwanza-Norte, Caxito and N'Dalatando respectively, while the city of Malanje

is facing the threat of war, with some municipalities in the province occupied by FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] soldiers.

* New Armed Forces Officers Take Office

93AF0263B *Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA* in Portuguese 10 Dec 92 p 1

[Text] The president of the Republic ordered a series of promotions and appointments of Armed Forces officers yesterday, following a meeting of the National Defense Council.

General Joao Baptista de Matos, chief of the General Staff of the FAA [Angolan Armed Forces], was promoted to the rank of general of the Army.

Promoted to the rank of general were Lieutenant Generals Pedro Benga Lima and Afonso Lopes Garcia, who become, respectively, inspector general of the FAA and deputy chief of the General Staff for Logistics and Infrastructures. Also promoted to that same military rank was Brigadier General Agostinho Dias Pedro Gaspar, who will henceforth discharge the duties of adviser to the chief of the General Staff.

Also promoted to the rank of general were Juliao Mateus Paulo, who becomes military prosecutor of the Angolan Armed forces, Antonio Jose Maria, who will serve as deputy chief of the General Staff for Education, and Joao Luis Neto, named to the post of adviser to the chief of the General Staff.

Armando da Cruz Neto and Luis Pereira Faceira were also promoted to the military rank of general and both will serve as advisers to the chief of the General Staff.

Promoted to the rank of lieutenant general were Brigadier Generals Raul Pedro Hendrik da Silva, Carlos Alberto da Silva Melo Xavier, and Inocencio de Almeida, who will now serve as chief of the Health Division, inspector, and chief of the Finance Division of the General Staff, respectively.

Colonel Joao Maria M. de Sousa was also promoted to lieutenant general, and will therefore assume the post of chief of the Justice and Discipline Division of the General Staff.

Also promoted to the rank of lieutenant general were Antonio dos Santos Neto, Adolfo Faulho Rosoilho, Augusto Jorge Baptista, and Manuel Luis Mendes who become, respectively, judge advocate of the Supreme Tribunal, chief of the Department of Logistics of the Army General Staff, and chief of the Operations Center at the FAA Operational Command.

Promoted to the military rank of brigadier general were Colonel Antonio Fernando da Fonseca, who becomes director of the Higher Institute of Military Education; and Hugo Edgar Pereira Leitao, Lucio Goncalves do Amaral, and Helder Fernando Pita Gros who will henceforth discharge the duties, respectively, of chief of the

Bureau of Personnel, chief of the Bureau of Instruction of the General Staff, and assistant director of the Military Judiciary Police.

The members of the General Staff will be sworn in at a ceremony scheduled for 0900 hours today.

Mozambique

* Beira Archbishop: Aid, Death Camps

93AF0268A Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 18 Dec 92 p 17

[Report on interview with Beira Archbishop Jaime Goncalves by Eduardo Mascarenhas, in Beira; date not given]

[Text] Don Jaime is making his voice heard once again. "There is corruption in high echelons of Mozambique; among those who are associated with the distribution of aid. Even the assistance earmarked for the church-administered centers for the dying is being diverted!"

The archbishop of Beira was a discreet but active participant in the process that led to the peace agreement. In the past his voice was raised, not infrequently, in protest and criticism. The powers-that-be in Mozambique almost always made him feel the consequences.

Catalyst, with the Italian Mario Raffaelli, of the first conversations between Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance], Dom Jaime has spent the last two years shuttling between Beira and Rome. He returned permanently to his archdiocese after the accord was signed.

Some days ago, with other bishops, he celebrated the silver anniversary of his ordination. He has not changed.

I visited him at his residence on Rua Correia de Brito (I mention this even though, as he told me, street names no longer mean anything in Beira), in response to an invitation issued some months ago in the Italian capital city.

He received me in a room that, although not air conditioned, was shielded from the sun and the blisteringly hot and humid atmosphere that is characteristic of Beira's weather at this time of year. The furnishings recall the era when Dom Sebastiao Resende built and inhabited that big house.

He was wearing sandals, khaki slacks, and an orange shirt embroidered in the same hue. No clerical collar. Anyone who did not know him would surely ask him where the archbishop was....

During our conversation, he spoke straightforwardly. "The topic of corruption is very complex in a country where the high echelons are beyond the control of an ordinary citizen like myself, which makes it hard to produce the evidence."

Hunger Kills Dozens Every Day

"We never really know what is given to the common people, what goes to the government, and what is diverted. But corruption exists, we know that. The subject has even been discussed in the National Assembly. *Diversions* of goods even occur during deliveries of donations to our centers for the dying. We have irrefutable proof of that!"

The "centers for the dying," he explains, are sites managed by the church and set up to receive displaced persons. Between 20 and 30 Mozambicans die of starvation there every day. They are located along the Beira corridor and in areas around the city.

"Food aid arrives in Mozambique without any financial cost to this country, but I have noticed that there are major obstacles preventing its free distribution to the public. Aid is not viewed here in terms of the people who are suffering but on *another level*. And it moves through *other channels*."

"The people are enduring a lot of hunger. Hunger and disease. It's almost like a second war."

He said that according to figures published in the local press, derived "from what basis no one knows," more than a million people have died of hunger in recent months.

Government not Recognizing Certain Zones

However, the root cause of the problem, he suggests, does not lie only in corruption. "A lot of politics is also involved in all this." And, he adds: "It is very hard for the government to accept the idea that certain zones are controlled by *others*. For its part, Renamo insists on demonstrating that *independent zones* still exist, and that does not sit well."

"So, in my province of Sofala and, I suppose, in many others too, it is still only with great difficulty that shipments of foodstuffs reach the zones controlled by Renamo. People try to rush to the areas that the government administers and to which it is sending supplies. By the time they get there, they are exhausted of course, and in too poor condition to survive."

People Unconcerned About Elections

Dom Jaime Goncalves insisted: "Hunger means that, as you have surely already observed in the interior towns of this country, the people are not very concerned about elections at this point."

"They have different priorities. Right now people are simply trying to exorcise the war. They are fed up with it. People do not want to hear about a return to the previous situation, do not want to hear anyone talk about violence again."

Imported Model the Best of Evils

I counter by saying: "I have also found a note of optimism about the holding of the elections and the opportunities opened up by the democratization process. After all, it too is imported."

"The solution to one of our biggest tragedies lies in the elections, and the importation of the model for the regime represents the best of the evils," the archbishop responded.

"The democratic solution, as it is understood in the West, is the one best able to erect obstacles to a new war. Some proposed solutions, such as a pluralist democracy, may not seem to be very viable in Africa, but in Mozambique they can serve to exorcise the war."

"This is the way to break with a past in which there was no possibility for free expression of opinions, no possibility for private enterprise, a regime where anyone who stood out from the rest was in a bad spot."

Angolan Scenario Will not Be Repeated

From Angola, over the radio, a means of communication available to only a few in Mozambique and one that enables the ordinary citizen to do what is forbidden him by newspapers and television—compare local and international news reports—bulletins continue to come concerning the progress of events in Angola. They broadcast a pessimistic theme.

Our dialogue inevitably slipped into a comparison between the two situations.

The archbishop of Beira is one of the many Mozambicans who do not think that the Angolan scenario will be transposed to his country.

"According to the information I have, if the elections are not obviously fraudulent or clearly deceptive, but if they are open and above board there will be no problems like those in Angola."

"During the process of mediating the conflict, we posed the problem to both parties on several occasions. Renamo President Afonso Dhlakama, who might be the one hardest to convince, always said he is willing to be in the opposition. He even said that his battle was not a battle to win power, but a battle to win democracy."

"But, attention...people will have to put a lot of truth, a lot of honesty, into the preparation of the entire Mozambican electoral process," he warned.

On the other side of the door another traveler, someone associated with the Community of Santo Egidio, was waiting. So long!

* Angoche Situation Following Renamo Occupation

93AF0258A *Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese*
29 Nov 92 pp 7-9

[Article by Teresa Sa Nogueira]

[Text] Angoche is gradually waking up from the nightmare it had been experiencing during the four days when it was occupied by Renamo [Mozambique National Liberation Resistance]. But it is still afraid. "Could they come back here?" people wonder.

After 4 October, people from all over this zone had started to go back to their homes. They were cleaning up the cashew groves, preparing their garden plots, visiting the sacred sites in order to talk to their ancestors.

Because that's what peace really is, having a road open so that one can return to the land where one was born—the renewal of life.

But suddenly, early one Sunday morning at 0400, the enemy attacked.

Divided into two groups, they entered the city via the Cerema neighborhood. There were about 1,200 men, we were told, almost all of them children under the age of 16.

They brought with them hand weapons and a very strong desire to destroy and kill. This was not the first time they had entered Angoche. In June, they had destroyed a lot of houses but were unable to take the city.

This time it was easy to get in: no one was expecting them, the peace agreement had been signed on paper, trucks were already rolling along the highways. It was this atmosphere of trust that enabled Angoche to be occupied.

No Pans, No Blankets

There was fighting all morning, within a four-kilometer radius. In hand-to-hand fighting the soldiers defending the land retreated. They had not been expecting the attack, they were not prepared, and at about 1600 hours Renamo succeeded in occupying the city.

Almost everyone fled to the sea, looking for boats—vessels too small to hold all those who escaped. The result was they capsized on the way to the islands. More people died in shipwrecks than from gunshots.

"We awoke to hear the shots," Antonio Bila, a peasant, told us. "Everyone began to run. I went to Damole and stayed there four days."

We returned because the military who had left for Mogovolas said "Look, you can go back to your homes, the bandits have left the city now. So we went back. But where were our houses? All burned up. In this part of Cerema there were 20, further on there were 75—look, all told there were more than 300. Afterward, none of the residents could find their possessions—not even a straw mat, a pot or pan, a plate, not

even a blanket. Now what? We don't know whether our children will survive in this cold...."

More than 2,500 people lost all they had.

Hidden Among the Mango Trees

Life in Angoche stopped for those four days.

In the cement part of the city, the houses were not burned down but the violence was felt just the same. They broke down doors, looted shops, houses, and storage areas. They raped women and children. In Inguri, the city's most populous neighborhood, they burned the mosque and many houses they thought belonged to soldiers and officials. Four days after the enemy withdrew, the streets still looked as though the city was asleep. People were afraid to return.

Renamo tried to call up and mobilize people, but could not get anyone to come back from the islands. The only ones who came back were those who had hidden in the mango groves, having no boat in which to escape, and who were without food and water—people like Nazario Naite, director of education in Angoche, chosen to act as mediator.

Lt. Colonel Zeca Mozulani, a N'dau by birth—as are almost all the Renamo bosses in that region—had Nazario Naite called in for a talk.

"He seemed to be a courteous man," said Naite. "So I went. What happened here came as a big surprise. We had already known that Renamo was bound to contact us to ask for food. When he left, the administrator instructed me that if they sent emissaries we should go meet them, and then we could arrange for one or two trucks of food to be delivered according to their instructions."

But they did not want either conversation or food. They wanted to occupy the city.

All Small Children

"So they came in and we all fled. I hid in the mango groves for two days. Then, when I came back to the city, I was contacted. The colonel asked me to go talk to him and I went, and listened to his concerns about food and toiletries. We were told to deliver beans, oil, and soap. The corn was to be taken the next day, the 22d, but in the meantime our forces appeared and the city was retaken. They did not take the corn."

We wanted to know what kind of people comprised the Renamo troops.

"More than a thousand men"—the director of education answered promptly—"but they weren't even men. Most were little guys, very young—12, 15, 16 years old. All small children."

We asked Naite if he had not tried to find out from Colonel Mozulani the reason for this attack, 14 days after signature of the cease-fire.

"I asked him that very question," he answered. "And do you know what he told me? 'We follow orders.'"

Military Strategy

To Alfredo Gamito, governor of Nampula Province, the taking of Angoche came as no surprise at all: "I think Renamo had strategic military objectives here because Angoche is a seaport that is being used and has socio-economic infrastructures of a certain importance. Before this happened, we had been feeling Renamo pressure for four or five months. There were even rumors that the city would be occupied, that Renamo planned installations in the city so it could unload its troops and war materiel. People were talking a lot about that long before 7 August, when it was decided that the peace agreement would be signed on 1 October."

The rumors were confirmed when Angoche actually was occupied. But if that was the idea, they failed utterly. After all, if the intention was to occupy an urban center, but in the process of occupation burning houses and looting and raping, then they failed at their objective. Just the fact that they burned houses caused them to lose people's trust—if indeed there was any trust in the minds of the public as to the intentions of Renamo itself.

Liberia

ECOMOG Seizes Control of Robertsfield Airport

AB0601133093 Paris AFP in English 1254 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Monrovia, Jan 6 (AFP)—The Nigerian-led intervention force in Liberia has seized control of Liberia's Robertsfield International Airport from the rebel National Patriotic Front (NPFL), the force announced Wednesday. "We kicked them out of the airport and will never allow them to return there," a spokesman for the West African ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] force said.

The country's main airport, situated about 45 kilometres (28 miles) east of Monrovia, had been a stronghold of Charles Taylor's rebel NPFL for two years.

Last week, the NPFL also lost control of the town of Kakata, a key area located 55 kilometres (35 miles) northeast of the capital, to the rival forces of the United Liberation Movement (ULIMO). The NPFL's recent losses followed its abortive effort to take the capital late last year. The rebels launched their assault on the city on October 15 but were forced to retreat in mid-December under counter-attack by the Liberian Army and ECOMOG and ULIMO forces.

Report Called 'Blatant Lie'

AB0601212093 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English 1900
GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The Government of the NPRA [National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly] has described as a blatant lie a BBC report that Kakata and Bong mines have fallen to ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia]. According to the Ministry of Information, Kakata and Bong mines are still under NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] control, including the Front's strategic positions in Monrovia. The Information Ministry called on supporters of the NPRA government not to be carried away by the wave of empty propaganda being waged by ULIMO and IGNU [Interim Government of National Unity] to confuse the Liberian situation. Meanwhile, the NPRA government has reiterated that the entire Somalia Drive is still considered a war zone. According to the Ministry of Information, Monrovians who decide to move back to any of the affected zones will be doing so at their own detriment.

At the same time, reports that the Nigerian-led forces of aggression and occupation have captured the Robertsfield International Airport [RIA] and Kakata in Margibi County have been described as a blatant lie and misleading. According to Radio France International, the forces of aggression and occupation said after two years of fierce battle... [pauses] two weeks of fierce battle with the NPFL, the international airport finally fell to them on Tuesday [5 January]. In the wake of baseless information, a team of LBS journalists from Gbarnga visited Kakata and other zones only to find out that people that were in gear, not peeking [as heard], and went about their

normal business. The residents in the area who LBS news visited said that the international media should always strive for balanced stories before going to press and avoid being in a rush and that such reporting has the tendency to inflame the situation on the ground more than doing good.

Meanwhile, the Nigerian-led forces of aggression and occupation have embarked on new full-scale bombing raids on strategic installations in Greater Liberia this new year. The raids by the Nigerian jet bombers were following their scorch and burn bombing policy in Liberia. Nigerian jet bombers on Monday (?illegally raided) the Robertsfield International Airport, nearly destroying the runway. RIA Director General Randolph Cooper has declared the airport unusable, saying as a result of the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] bombing raids on the airport, no aircraft can now land. This is the second time in one month that the Robertsfield International Airport has been bombed by ECOMOG jet bombers, turning major portions of the runway upside down. Also on Monday, Nigerian bombers raided 10 towns in Harbel, killing and wounding several persons.

NPFL, Russian Diplomats Discuss Arms Purchases

AB0701111093 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900
GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] There are reports that top-level Russian diplomats accredited to the Ivory Coast are currently holding talks with the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] on the sale of Soviet weapons, including jet bombers and chemical weapons, to the leadership of the NPFL. The talks are said to have been held in Liberia. According to the reports [words indistinct] Russia has become a cheap source of access to weapons for anybody with money to buy. There is concern that the introduction of Russian involvement [words indistinct] Liberian problem.

A few days ago, an unidentified aircraft landed (?and flew out) of the Robertsfield International Airport into NPFL-held territory, despite the air embargo imposed by ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States]. Also, the ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] High Command, last Tuesday said that it had received reports that the NPFL leadership has acquired chemical weapons and intends to use them in its ongoing fight with the West African peacekeeping force.

Nigeria

Chief Shonekan, Hurd Discuss Relations, Investments

AB0601134693 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 5 Jan 93

[Text] [passage indistinct] eventual removal of the subsidy in future. State House correspondent, Biya Alabi, reports that the president was speaking at the meeting

with the British secretary of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs, Sir Douglas Hurd, in Abuja today:

[Words indistinct] first, that the Federal Government had to weigh economic considerations which might seem to justify the subsidies removal against the realities of the adverse sociopolitical consequences which will follow. He said government was very mindful of the destructive and destabilizing impact which the removal of oil subsidies would now have on the Nigerian society. On the transition program, the president was optimistic that the corrective steps and adjustments made after the necessary extension, will reduce the level of malpractices in the election of a civilian president to an acceptable level.

Sir Douglas noted that the next eight months will be most significant for Nigeria's future. While emphasizing the need for the Federal Government to reach a new agreement with the IMF soon, Sir Douglas said that the British Government and members of the Paris Club appreciated the domestic pressures on the government.

President Babangida and the British foreign secretary also discussed the problems in Liberia, Somalia, and Sudan, and reviewed recent elections in Ghana, Kenya, and Angola as well as the situation in South Africa.

Receiving Sir Douglas later, the chairman of the Transitional Council, Chief Ernest Shonekan, said the Council was trying to maintain a reasonable level of cooperation with the National Assembly and other groups in the march towards political and economic progress. He spoke on the commitment of the Federal Government to put a credible process in place to ensure the handing over to a democratically elected president in August.

Sir Douglas also called at the Foreign Affairs Ministry. During his visit there, the newly appointed secretary for foreign affairs, Chief Matthew Mbu, registered Nigeria's displeasure over the negative publicity accorded her by the British press. Chief Mbu told the British secretary for foreign and Commonwealth affairs that not all Nigerians can be associated with drug trafficking. Correspondent Abdul Baki Ibrahim now reports:

[Begin recording] [Ibrahim] Chief Matthew Taiwo Mbu told his British counterpart, Sir Douglas Hurd, that relation between Nigeria and Britain has grown from strength to strength but lamented that for the past two years this kind of bilateral talks has not been held. The secretary for foreign affairs therefore pointed out that the visit of Sir Douglas Hurd will reactivate this forum. Chief Matthew Mbu, who led a 10-man delegation to the talks, also appealed to the British foreign secretary to continue to support Nigeria in her bid to resolve her debt problems.

[Mbu] We need to address also the reforms in the organs of the United Nations to meet the requirements of the Third World. These issues are very [words indistinct].

[Ibrahim] Responding, Sir Douglas Hurd said Britain was keen to help Nigeria in solving her debt problem. He

suggested that the two countries should cooperate in order to deal with the situation.

[Hurd] I do not know whether you are planning now—the new government—to send ministerial and technical teams to Washington; whether you are planning to accept the offers of the IMF resident representative because when one thinks of the Paris Club, when one thinks of the handling of debt, it is pretty clear from our own experience that creditors are going to look at the relationship with the IMF.

[Ibrahim] Meanwhile, the British foreign secretary has commended Nigeria for her leadership role in maintaining peace in Africa. At a dinner held in his honor last night, Sir Douglas Hurd pointed out that for Nigeria to maintain over 12,000 troops in Liberia and other parts of Africa, it is a clear manifestation of Nigeria's determination to attain peace in Africa. Sir Douglas Hurd also prayed for the success of the transition program. Chief Matthew Mbu used the occasion to call on British entrepreneurs to invest in Nigeria. [end recording]

Hurd Discusses Aid

AB0701064293 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English 1700
GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The Transitional Council and the National Assembly have been advised to enforce tight control of government finances to bring the economy into shape. The visiting British foreign and Commonwealth affairs secretary, Sir Douglas Hurd, gave the advice in a lecture in Abuja yesterday. He said when this is done, Britain would help through her bilateral aid program and her share of the IMF, as was done to other African countries. Sir Douglas Hurd said the British Government was interested in ensuring that aid given was not wasted. He expressed the belief that the Transitional Council and the National Assembly have the chance of bringing the economy into shape by enforcing tight control of government finances.

On the agenda for world order, Sir Douglas Hurd expressed appreciation for Nigeria's contributions to the United Nations peacekeeping operations around the world.

Ondo Governor on Military Rule Extension

AB0701120793 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Governor Bamidele Olumilua of Ondo State says he and his colleagues do not support the extension of military rule, but rather favor the installation of a viable political order in the country. He made the clarification today in Akure while briefing newsmen and media executives on the activities of his government in the past one year. NTA Akure correspondent Dakua Daramola, who attended the press briefing, filed this report.

[Daramola] Governor Bamidele Olumilua said that their role so far must not be misconstrued, emphasizing that the governors and other civilians in the government are merely assisting the military to establish a durable democracy in the country. The governor, who was answering questions from media executives, said that for the first time in the country, governors who belong to different political parties have resolved to present a common front for the interest of the country. He described the present governors as the best crop of state chief executives.

On the state administration, Mr. Olumilua said education and health care delivery as well as food development will continue to attract high priority while the economic sector will be stimulated through the provision of necessary incentives for investors. [passage omitted]

Commentary Views Economic Prospects for 1992

AB0301183093 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1800 GMT 30 Dec 92

[Commentary by Denihun Alhaji Brown]

[Text] The Nigerian economy in the last one year could be described as a mixed pile of ups and downs. There were a number of major decisions by the Federal Government which, in the course of the year, had some far reaching effects on the economy. The fact is that the down turn in the global economy, which affected the fortunes of the nation in 1991, grew worse in 1992 and brought in its wake a higher rate of inflation and worsened the problem of unemployment.

Although the Federal Government tried to minimize deficit financing, as President Ibrahim Babangida said in presenting the budget on the first of January this year, the prevailing circumstances have made this difficult [sentence as heard]. The budget of 52.03 billion naira had been based on the projected revenue of 54.037 billion while envisaging a surplus of 2 billion naira. But in the first six months of the year, records show that a deficit of almost 15 billion naira had been recorded. This indicates that the deficit will be higher than last year.

Various deregulatory measures were introduced in the course of last year but they have not made significant impact on improving the economy. The March 5 deregulation of the foreign exchange market stands out as the most important move in this direction.

It was to arrest the impossible gap between the official and parallel foreign exchange markets which, by February, was as high as 80 percent, the naira then exchanging unofficially at about 18 naira to a dollar while officially it exchanged for about nine naira to a dollar. The deregulation pushed the official to 18 naira 50 kobo.

Battling inflation was a very serious affair in the wake of deregulation. This was the consequence of the escalating production cost brought about by the fall in the value of

the naira. The problem of inflation persisted also with the Central Bank regularly mopping up the excess of liquidity in the economy. The official inflation rate by June was 27 percent while it was 13 percent at the same period in 1991.

On a more cheery note, it is a relief that Nigeria's external debts had reduced within six months from over \$33 billion to \$26.7 billion. According to a Central Bank report, the decrease in the figures was due to debt cancellations conceded by the London Club in line with an agreement early in the year.

Another economic goal pursued in the year was continued efforts towards boosting of non-oil exports in the country. While announcing the 1992 budget last January, the president stated that the government had decided to designate some areas of the country as export processing zones. This is to complement all other strategies that the administration has been pursuing since 1986 to diversify the economy.

The first place to be so selected is the city of Calabar in Cross River State. The Cross River State Government has since set up a task force to determine how to improve existing infrastructure and establishing fresh ones. Much has been achieved in this direction in the course of the year. For instance, about 97 million naira has been earmarked for the supply of fresh telephone lines to the zone and a foreign consortium is to overhaul the existing telephone network.

The year 1992 also saw some changes in government's economic policy. For instance, the ban on the importation of wheat, put in place since 1987, was lifted temporarily till the end of this year. Removal of restrictions on importation of wheat was extended to June 1993.

As the year is drawing to an end, the question everyone is asking is, what are the nation's economic prospects for the coming year? The future may, however, look brighter if efforts are intensified to consolidate the achievements of this year. There should be no relenting in adopting measures that would reduce the economic problems of the country in the coming year.

Sierra Leone

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Aid Suspension

AB0601181593 Paris AFP in English 1750 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Freetown, Jan 6 (AFP) - Britain's decision to suspend economic aid to Sierra Leone in reaction to the summary execution of 26 alleged coup plotters was "disturbing," a foreign ministry spokesman said Wednesday [6 January].

The spokesman had no other comment to make on the suspension of aid worth four million pounds (\$6.7 million dollars) announced Tuesday by British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd in Abuja, Nigeria.

The 26 were shot on December 30 after sentencing by a special military court. Seventeen of them had been detained in November for a meeting described as "subversive" by the military junta in power since April 29.

The nine others were arrested at dawn on December 29 after the government reported what it described as a foiled coup bid.

At least three people were killed when the alleged plot was discovered. Two other alleged plotters, a corporal and a private soldier, were still being hunted Wednesday.

The military authorities have offered a reward of 1,000 dollars for information leading to their arrest, which is a fortune in a country where the average annual income per head is put at 150 dollars.

A military spokesman said seven people are still being detained in connection with the alleged coup bid: two soldiers; the head of the prison administration, J.B. Amara, and three other penitentiary officials; and a law student, Mohammed Sahid Sesay.

The latter is suspected of writing the statement that was to be read out over the radio had the coup bid succeeded.

Apart from Britain, France and the United States have condemned the executions and called for the respect of human rights and due legal process.

The government of military ruler Captain Valentine Strasser said nine of those executed had attempted to topple the government the previous day. [passage omitted]

Togo

Eyadema, Koffigoh Meet; Stress Need for Cabinet

AB0701105593 Lome Radio Lome in French 2200
GMT 6 Jan 93

[Commmuniqué issued by President Gnassingbe Eyadema and Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh in Lome on 6 January, read by Alassani Issa Samarou, minister of industry and state enterprises—recorded]

[Text] The president of the Republic and the prime minister met in Lome District-II at the head of state's private residence on 6 January. The two top executive officials thoroughly reviewed the country's sociopolitical situation and reaffirmed their desire to see the rapid return of calm, peace, and tranquility in Togo.

They noted that the present transition government completed its term of office on 31 December 1992 without achieving its fundamental objective, namely that of organizing the elections. In this regard, the president of the Republic and the prime minister stressed the need for the country to have a new transition government mainly charged with relaunching the democratic process and organizing the remaining elections as soon as possible.

In conclusion, the president of the Republic is prepared to receive officials of the Collective of Democratic Forces-II.

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